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Folke Gernert

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Introduction

Autor.– [...] Toma, tráeme un poco de papel y tinta, que quiero notar aquí una cosa que se me recordó ahora. [...] ¿En qué pasáis tiempo, mi señora?

Lozana.– Cuando vino Vuestra Merced, estaba diciendo el modo que tengo de tener para vivir, que quien veza a los papagayos a hablar, me vezará a mí a ganar. Yo sé ensalmar y encomendar y santiguar cuando alguno está aojado, que una vieja me vezó, que era saludadera y buena como yo. Sé quitar ahitos, sé para lombrices, sé encantar la terciana, sé remedio para la quartana y para el mal de la madre. Sé cortar frenillos de bobos y no bobos, sé hacer que no duelan los riñones y sanar las renes y sé ensolver sueños, sé conocer en la frente la fisionomía y la quiromancia en la mano, y prenoticar.¹

[AUTHOR.– ... Now take this and get me a little paper and ink. I want to jot something down I just remembered ... How do you spend your time, Madam Lozana?

Lozana.– When your lordship arrived I was describing how I make my living, and anyone who can teach parrots to talk can teach me my ways of earning money too. I know how to cure by spells and by making the sign of the cross over someone who has been bewitched by the evil eye, for an old crone who was as good a practitioner as I am now taught me. I know how to cure acute indigestion; I can cure worms; I know how to charm tertiary fevers away; I have remedies for quartan fever and for ills peculiar to mothers; I know how to cure tongue-tied fools and less than fools as well; I know how to restore kidneys and take away their pain; I can treat disease of both men and women; I know how to cure deafness. and I can interpret dreams; I know how to read the bumps on a forehead and the palm of a hand and predict the future as well.]

In Francisco Delicado's *La Lozana Andaluza*, the very author is a character and an interlocutor of the protagonist. His companionship with the characters of his own making highlights the fictionality of the text and its creation by means of metafictional commentaries. Writing *Lozana* and writing about Lozana entails writing about knowledge. Delicado's protagonist is defined by an array of mostly controversial competences that must be read against the backdrop of scientific developments of that time. As the sociologist Thomas F. Gieryn remarks, "science is no single thing: its boundaries are drawn and redrawn in flexible, historically changing and sometimes ambiguous ways" (1983, 781). Lozana's knowledge is dangerously close to heterodoxy with regard to its academic status and with regard to her gender and social rank, and as well as on religious grounds.

Speaking about the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Arielle Saiber observes that "literature and science were aligned in many questions and struggles" (2010, 423), which are – I may add – particularly important for my research on Delicado's novel and other early modern Spanish texts:

1 *La Lozana Andaluza* XLII (2013, 215), translation Damiani (1982, 187–188).

How do I disseminate my work (or keep it secret, as the case may be)? Should I write in Latin or the vernacular; should I follow the style and content of the “ancients” or the “mod-erns”? Does my work teach properly? How do I reconcile what I observe in the natural world and in human nature with Church doctrine? [...] How do I present my work such that it pleases a patron and garners support? Why not say what I want to, how I want to? (2010, 423)

The essays assembled in this book are concerned with these questions, assuming that “both literature and science are systems dedicated to the production of knowledge” (Marchitello and Tribble 2017, xxv). The editors of the recent *Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science* open their introduction with a consideration regarding the publication of two mayor works of Western culture in 1623: Galileo’s *Il Saggiatore* and Shakespeare’s Complete Works. This coincidence, both books being published in the same year, calls into question classical dichotomies such as literary vs. scientific, creative vs. empirical or factual vs. imaginative:

These two trajectories – which by convention we will come to call disciplines (in the broadest sense of the term) – and the separation between them have typically been understood to describe a fundamental division of the kingdom of human culture and experience: on the one side, the unfettered work of the human imagination and on the other the relentless (and accumulative) production of a rigorously rational and explicable catalog of solid truths. (Marchitello and Tribble 2017, xxiii)

Current Literature and Science Studies have overcome such a binary view and are conscious,² especially with regard to early modern times, that – as Cummins and Burchell argue –, “[l]iterary and rhetorical forms contributed to the development of science as a modern discipline so that early modern ‘literature’ and ‘science’ cannot always be sharply distinguished” (2007, 2).

As a scholar of medieval and early modern Spanish literature, I am concerned especially with the aesthetic dimension of knowledge in fiction.³ Apart from identifying scientific contents,⁴ the form and structure of their presentation

² See the articles edited by Freiburg, Lubkoll and Neumeyer (2017) and the introduction by the editors.

³ As Friedlein (2014, 15) observed, scholars working on the textualization of knowledge often neglected this aspect.

⁴ According to Köppe, there are different achievements of literature concerning knowledge: ‘literature increases knowledge; literature communicates knowledge; literature illustrates knowledge; literature popularizes knowledge; literature problematizes knowledge, literature anticipates knowledge, literature participates in conceptualizing of a field of reality and structures the field of the knowable; literature requires knowledge; literature contains knowledge and lit-

are clues to a better understanding of literature. The endless and intentionally absurd lists of François Rabelais can be read as an answer to the accumulation of knowledge in commonplace books and the like.⁵ Concerning the diffusion and popularization of scientific lore, the role of the printing press as an ‘agent of change’, in the words of Eisenstein (1980), is crucial. The methodological approaches of book and reading history (e.g. the study of marks in books, inventories of private and public libraries) permit the historical categorization of different types of knowledge bearers. The broader circulation of ideas through printing furthermore involves new strategies of ideological control.⁶

* * *

Since 2010, the Hispano-German Research Network *Saberes humanísticos y formas de vida en la temprana modernidad* [*Humanistic Learning and Way of Life in Early Modern Times*], founded by Pedro M. Cátedra and Christoph Strosetzki, has analysed the relationship between knowledge, experience and cultural practices, emphasizing the study of the limits and the dialectics in between legitimate and illegitimate knowledge of experts or subalterns, institutionalized or at the margins (www.saberes.es). From 2012 on, I worked six years as Principal Researcher in two subsequent projects funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (*Voraussagen zwischen okkultem Wissen und Wissenschaft* [*Divination in between Occultism and Science*]) and the articles collected in this book are some of the results of the investigations carried out in this period and the fruit of the productive exchange within this group.⁷

The first chapter contextualises the *Tratado de la divinança* [*Treatise on Divination*] by Lope de Barrientos in a broader European context of anti-superstitious literature and propaganda. The work of the converted Spanish Jew is read through the lens of other fifteenth-century-treatises written by French and German authors in the vernacular in order to address a secular audience criticising their adherence to astrology and the arts of divination.

In the late fifteenth century, the printing press gave wide diffusion to the physiognomic manuals of classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the second

erature is (a form of) knowledge’ (2011, 6). (If not specified otherwise, all translations and paraphrase in single quotation marks are from Collin Reymann).

⁵ In his groundbreaking study, Burke remarks that “the general trend to the accumulation of more and more information in the early modern period seems fairly clear, as well as the tendency to arrange it in tabular or statistical form” (2000, 117).

⁶ Particularly interesting are the recent studies about the censuring of heterodoxy by María José Vega Ramos (2010 and 2012).

⁷ See as well Gernert (2018).

chapter, I study these works from the viewpoint of the cultural history of the book and of reading. The handwritten annotations in many of the surviving copies inform about early readers' concerns as well as about their social status and profession. These results lead to the question if authors of literary texts like Fernando de Rojas were among the readers of these books and in what way they fictionalized this knowledge.

Physiognomy as well as chiromancy are now regarded as pseudoscience if not as plain humbug. In early modern times these practices were considered either as scientifically valuable or, on religious grounds, as highly problematic, since their divinatory components are in conflict with the dogma of the free will. In chapters three and four the legitimacy and the instability of this kind of knowledge are examined by looking at papal bulls, indexes of prohibited books and anti-superstitious treatises. In chapter three, I study the true effect that the Inquisition's condemnations had on the diffusion of physiognomic lore, focussing on the fortune of the works of the Neapolitan physiognomist and *magus* Giovanni Battista Della Porta and of Jean Taisnier from Belgium. Another methodological approach is the study of inventories of private and public libraries, which allows one to obtain the profiles of readers interested in the occult, often openly disregarding the authorities' prohibitions. The fourth chapter goes into a similar direction concentrating on treatises against superstition from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century and on the censoring of physiognomic works by Michael Scott, Giovanni Battista della Porta and Jean Taisnier.

A second group of articles studies the textualization and fictionalization of problematic knowledge in medieval and early modern times. Chapter five deals with physiognomic lore in the *Book of Good Love* by Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, the earliest version of which dates from 1330. Reading the bodily features in the portraits of beauty and ugliness in this medieval text in comparison with the physiognomic manuals of the time, many passages gain in significance. One might even go so far as to argue that the Archpriest dealt with the question of the heuristic value of this semiotic practice. Chapter Six scrutinizes the competences of female rogues like Francisco Delicado's Lozana or López de Úbeda's Justina. These female characters act as physiognomists who are able to decipher the bodies of the others, doing this often in an ironic or burlesque manner. Chapter Seven concentrates on the fictionalization of astrological knowledge, beginning with a glance at the famous episode of the outlandish way in which the son of King Alcaraz dies in the *Book of Good Love*, interpreting it as evidence of the sceptical attitude of the Archpriest towards this practice of divination. In *Portrait of Lozana, the lusty Andalusian woman* the contemporary custom of trying to foresee future events is ridiculed by means of different textual strategies that are reminiscent of the works of François Rabelais or Pietro Aretino.

The last two chapters examine the use of different forms of knowledge in a rather peculiar chivalric novel, published in 1542 in the printing house of Domenico de' Robertis in Seville. The Spanish *Baldo* is a free adaptation of Teofilo Folengo's macaronic epos *Baldus*. The proto-picaresque character Cíngar is the bearer of heterogeneous competences and forms of knowledge that are integrated in different ways in the narration of the adventures of the knights. Chapter Eight studies the encyclopaedic knowledge accumulated in the extradiegetic moralistic commentaries in *Baldo* in comparison with Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and their respective structural relevance. The emphasis lies on those passages in which Folengo's hypotext parodies problematic forms of knowledge like alchemy, astrology or divination. Chapter Nine applies the comparative approach to the moralistic commentaries of *Baldo* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, placing special emphasis on its relationship to the miscellanies and poly-antheas in use at the time.

In a period characterized by an information overload and changing postures towards knowledge⁸ learning is a challenge comparable to the adventures of knights and rogues. Threatened by the peril of ignorance, literary characters like Celestina, Lozana, Cíngar or Guzmán de Alfarache make use of wisdom as weapon without ever fearing heterodoxy.

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⁸ See Blair who states: "A new attitude toward seeking out and stockpiling information was the crucial cause of the information explosion, more significant than any particular new discovery" (2010, 12). According to Rosenberg "during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries factors such as an increasing production and dissemination of books, developing networks of scientific communication, discoveries and innovations in the sciences, and new economic relationships all conspired to produce such quantities of new information that a substantial reorganization of the intellectual world was required" (2003, 6).

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The *Tratado de la divinança* by Lope de Barrientos, in the European Context

As we know, the body of anti-superstitious treatises from the late Middle Ages is based on classical sources like the *De divinatione* of Cicero¹ and, above all, Christian sources like the *De divinatione daemonum* and the *De civitate Dei* of Saint Augustine (354–430),² the *Etymologiae* of Saint Isidore of Seville (560–636),³ the *Decretum* of Gratian (completed in 1140)⁴ and, especially, on Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).⁵ Only after the middle of the fourteenth century did the first anti-superstitious treatises appear in the vernacular. They made theological subtleties and scholastic discussions available to a wider audience that neither read Latin easily nor was well familiar with Patristics or its interpretation.

The first treatise against divination in vernacular language was written by Nicole Oresme (*ca.* 1320–1382)⁶ around 1356, by translating (and simplifying) his own Latin work *Tractatus contra astronomos judiciarios* (1349)⁷ into the *Livre de divinacions*.⁸ The Bishop of Lisieux explains the intention of his work

1 See the Spanish edition by Escobar (1999).

2 See the bilingual edition of *Sobre las predicciones de los demonios* by León Mescua (2014) and *De civitate Dei* VIII, 14–24 in the edition by Santamarta del Río and Fuertes Lanero (2006, 315–333). See Thurston (1930), Götz (1987, 57–84) and Bink (2008, 44–45); for the *De divinatione daemonum* Schlappbach (2013, 132–134) and Tuczay (2012, 53) for its importance for the decree of Gratian.

3 *Etimologías* VIII, 9, 13 (2004, 704) and thereto regarding Boudet (2006, 15) and Tuczay (2012, 54–55).

4 *Decretum Gratiani*, Pars secunda, causa XXVI, quaestio III et IV, C. I. *De multiplici genere divinationis* §. 1. (http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/kapitel/dc_chapter_3_3015, 28 March 2015). See Tuczay (2012, 53).

5 See *Summa theologiae* II, quaestio 95 about divination, and for Thomas Aquinas' conceptions about magic Linsenmann (2000).

6 For his life and works, see the acts of congress *Autour de Nicole Oresme* (1990).

7 In addition to these two treatises against astrology, Oresme writes a third, the *Quaestio contra divinatores horoscopios* (1370), edited by Caroti (1977). Jourdain studied Oresme's stance against astrology (1875) and, later, so did Coopland (1952) and Caroti (1979); for the chronology see Lejbowicz (1990).

8 See Rapisarda for the strategies of auto-translation and especially its conclusions: "In the case of Nicole Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, we can thus confirm the 'traditional' idea that vulgarization is simplification. It is evident that he did not use vernacular French because he was unable to use Latin; he uses it in order to adapt his text to a different audience, not ignorant of Latin, but probably less at ease with, or less interested in, academic sophistication, without the need of extreme precision in quotation and sharpness in meaning" (2012, 252); a synopsis of the changes in Caroti (1979, 563–564).

and the reasons for the auto-translation in the *Proheme* [Prologue] of the French text:

Mon entencion a l'aide de Dieu est monstrier en ce livret par experience, par auctorités et par raison humaine que folle chose, malvaise et perilleuse temporellement est mectre son entente a vouloir savoir ou diviner les aventures et les fortunes a venir ou les choses occultes par astrologie, par geomancie, par nigromancie ou par quelconques telx ars, se l'en les doit apeller ars. Maisment tel chose est plus perilleuse a personnes d'estat come sont princes et seigneurs auxquels appartient le gouvernement publique. Et pour ce ay je composé ce livret en françois afin que gens lays le puissent entendre, des quieux si comme j'ay entendu, plusieurs sont trop enclins a telles fatuités; et autre foyz ay je escript en latin de ceste matiere.⁹

[My intention, with the help of God, is to show in this booklet by means of experience, authorities and human reason that it is a crazy thing, bad and dangerous at the same time, to attempt to get to know or to divine the ventures and fortunes to come or to know the hidden things with the help of astrology, geomancy, black magic or others of these arts if we should call them 'arts'. These things are however more dangerous for statesmen like princes or lords in charge of public government. And for this reason, I composed this booklet in French so that laymen can understand it, many of whom – as I found out – are too inclined to such fatuities; on other occasions I wrote about this subject in Latin.]

Nicole Oresme rewrites his own work in order to address a different audience, a secular audience of princes and great lords,¹⁰ whose interest in the occult arts could have dire consequences. The text is, as Rapisarda observes, “built on a typically scholastic argumentative progression, based on the alternation of pro and contra” (2012, 234).

Half a century later, there appears another treatise against the arts of divination in the French language, this time in the court of Burgundy: *Contre les devineurs* (1411) is the title of the text written by the Dominican Laurent Pignon (ca. 1368 – 1449),¹¹ confessor to Philip the Good, with no mention at all of Nicole

⁹ Oresme (2009, 80). The author returns to the use of French and Latin to speak about the problem of divination in *Le quart chapitre: responce a une objection* [The Fourth Chapter: Answer to an Objection], Oresme (2009, 80).

¹⁰ Rapisarda (2012, 233): “As he himself declares, he has already written about this topic in Latin. In fact, he had written a *Tractatus contra astronomos judiciarios* chiefly addressed to a public of scholars and then proceeds to self-translating it as *Livre de divinations* in order to make it acceptable to an audience less competent in an autonomous reading of a Latin text. It is not easy to determine exactly to whom the *Livre de divinations* was addressed. Is Oresme trying to get around the scholastic writers he was arguing against by aiming for a different audience?”. See also Lefèvre (1990) for this prologue and the use of the French language.

¹¹ See Vanderjagt (1985, 5–34) for his biography.

Oresme.¹² It is a type of reflection for princes¹³ dedicated to Jean sans Peur (John the Fearless).¹⁴ As Veenstra observes, Pignon “translates fairly traditional material and tries to adapt it to the interests and tastes of a French-Burgundian court audience” (1997, 15). It is noteworthy that the author would feel, just as Oresme did, the need to comment in the prologue not only his intention, but also the choice of French as the conduit of his reflections:

Je, a cuy appartient de mon offise prechier verité et qui par maintesfois ay publiquement en vostre presence thocié de ceste matiere, veul sur ce compose[r] un petit traitié ad ce que par ignorance aucun ne pechent encontre nostre foy. Ouquel traitié je ne veul riens dire de mon seul et propre sentement, ains je veul seulement exposer et translater de latin en françois les raisons et auctorités de la sainte escripture et des sains docteurs de l'Eglise [et] la determinacion de Sainte Eglise, en tele maniere a ce que aucun n'aient cause de dire que ce soit oppinion particuliere ou de moi ou d'autre.¹⁵

[As a person to whom it pertains by profession to preach the truth and who lectured publicly many a times in your presence about this matter, I want to compose a little treatise in order to prevent anybody from sinning, through ignorance, against our belief. In this treatise I don't want to say anything about my own feelings, but I want to expose and to translate from Latin into French merely the reasons and authorities of the Holy Writ and the holy doctors of the Church and the determination of the Holy Church, so that nobody could argue that this is my personal opinion or the opinion of somebody else.]

12 See Veenstra (1997, 327, footnote 348): “Though Pignon was evidently aware of the older literature on magic and divination, he made no references to the works of his contemporaries or near-contemporaries. He refers to *leçons*, *collacions* and *predicacions* but gives no examples. Nicole Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, Philippe de Mézières's allegorical denunciation of superstition in *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, Jean Gerson's *De erroribus circa artem magicam*, to mention the most important contemporary texts from France, seem to be unknown to Pignon”), Véronèse (2001, 114) and Rapisarda (2009, 66): “Nicole Oresme non viene mai citato, come d'altronde le altre opere contemporanee che denunziano magia e superstizione” [Nicole Oresme is never mentioned, like the other contemporary works that criticise magic and superstition].

13 See Véronèse (2001, 115): “Par bien des aspects, le *Contre les devineurs* appartient au genre des Miroirs aux princes. Il s'agit de faire prendre conscience au duc qu'un bon gouvernement ne saurait souffrir la moindre compromission avec un *devineur*” [In many aspects, the *Contre les devineurs* belongs to the genre of mirror of princes. It intends to show to the duke that good government must not suffer even a minor compromise with a diviner].

14 “A tres excellent et puissant prince Jehan duc de Borgoigne, conte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Borgogne, son humble et devot sujet et serviteur recommandacion deüe” Pignon (1997, 223) [To the excellent and mighty prince John, Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, Artois and Burgundy with all due respect of his humble and devout subject and servant].

15 Pignon (1997, 224).

Next, Laurent Pignon insists that the treatise be submitted to the judgment “des sages et des clers ou de vostre conseil ou autres”¹⁶ [of the wise men and the clergy or to your council or that of others] so that they would certify the veracity of his thesis. This insistence is due, perhaps, to the fact that the Dominican condemns not only the arts of divination in general, but also the recipient of his treatise in particular. We don’t know with complete certainty if the Duke of Burgundy was so much a devotee of these practices as was Charles V of France, for whom Oresme writes his *Livre de divinacions*, openly criticising the adherence to astrology by those in power. That Pignon was more cautious than the Bishop of Lisieux is possibly explained by the type of relationship that he maintained with the monarch. In fact, Rapisarda deliberately points out the familiarity between Nicole Oresme and the French King Charles V, who is “evêque du roi e consigliere regio, uno dei più vicini e dei più ascoltati dal suo sovrano” (2009, 14) [bishop of the king and royal counsellor, a person with close relationship to the sovereign and one of the most respected subjects]. Returning to Pignon’s treatise, it is necessary to emphasise that the Dominican insists that “les choses ychi contenues soient veritables, saines et catholiques” [the things contained are really sound and Catholic] urging the Duke “que les veulliés accepter et approuver, croire et tenir” [that he should accept and approve, believe and honour them]. In the second prologue – *Qui est la cause et movent de faire ce traité?* [What are the reason and motive for the making of this treatise?] – Pignon is more explicit:

Et pour tant que plusieurs se porroient a esmervillier qui est la cause et movent de ce traité faire, m’a esmeü a ce traité cy composer, la cause ad ce moy movent est ce que j’ey veü en mon tem[p]s plusieurs notables et grans segneurs et autres gens de tous estas, lesquels estoient aucunement enclin a oïr et donner odiance a telz divinateurs, cuidans que leurs ovrages et pronostications fussent fondees sur bonne et royale science.¹⁷

[And because many of you could wonder what the reason and motive are for the making of this treatise, why I was induced to compose this treatise, the reason which moved me to this is that I saw in my times many important and great lords and other people of all ranks, who were by no means inclined to listen to such diviners, providing that their works and prognostications were founded on good and royal science.]

The spread of divination practices throughout society causes indignation in the Dominican, who from the start provides a series of interesting facts. The author transcribes a document from a soothsayer as an example of this kind of unreliable composition, thus giving us what is probably the only document of its

16 Pignon (1997, 224).

17 Pignon (1997, 225).

kind.¹⁸ After documenting the wide dissemination of this abhorrent practice, Pignon justifies the need to combat them arguing that private indoctrination is insufficient and, even more interestingly, because “predicacion publique n’a aucunement lieu en telle matiere cy pesant et si perilleuse en nostre foy” [public sermons about this important and dangerous subject concerning our belief are never held].¹⁹ While the paratexts inform us of the historical reality in Burgundy, the actual treatise distances itself considerably from this reality by way of its learned and bookish inspiration.

In order to complete the fifteenth century panorama it is necessary to mention Johannes Hartlieb (ca. 1400 – 1468),²⁰ author of the first chiromantic manual in German and *Das puch aller verpoten kunst* [*The book of all the forbidden arts*],²¹ finished circa 1456 for the Margrave Johannes von Brandenburg-Kulmbach, called the alchemist (1403 – 1464):

Ich willen hab zu schreiben und melden durch bätt, haissen und geschäfft des durchleüchtigen, hochgelobten fürsten marggraufen Johannsen zu Branndenburg, ains rechten liebhabers warer und rechter kunst und ains getrüen mitleiders aller irgeenden.²²

[I want to write at the request and order of the eminent prince, the Margrave Johannes von Brandenburg, a genuine devotee of the true arts with great compassion for those who are in error.]

After this and other praises of the wisdom of the prince, Hartlieb changes his tone somewhat and mulls over the possibility that the sovereign, whom he calls ‘brother in law’, could fall into the temptation of devoting himself to the forbidden arts:

Durchleüchtiger, hochgeporner fürst und swager, sun des allercristenlichisten fürsten marggraven Fridrichs, ains rechten liebhabers aller gaistlichen diet und werder priesterschaft, seit dein hoche vernunft so begirlich begert, sucht und erfragt alle kunst und verborgen list und aller vollkommenhait in dir kein mangel noch geprechen ist dann allain mangel

18 See Pignon (1997, 225) and footnote 14: “This curious piece of soothsayer’s advice is probably one of a few (if not the only one) of its kind to survive”.

19 See Pignon (1997, 228 and footnote 20).

20 For the biography of Hartlieb see Ulm (1913, 1–6), Schmitt (1962, 5–15) and Fürbeth (1992).

21 The most recent researchers question his authorship of the *Buch von der hand*, studied by Fürbeth (2007), and they suspect that there was more than one author of the same name. This fact would explain the many incongruences in the biography of Hartlieb, see Fürbeth (1992). Schmitt (1962, 250–281) and (1966) explains the apparent change in Hartlieb’s attitude between the chiromantic manual and his anti-superstitious treatise through the influence of Nicholas of Cusa.

22 Hartlieb (1998, 44).

latinischer zungen, so wär ymmer und ymmer zu clagen, solt dein tieffe weißheit in zauberlisten und ungelauben vernüpft, versenckt oder vertiefft werden. Darumb sammel und schreibe ich, doctor Hartlieb, dir, meinem allergnädigsten herren und swager, am erste die siben verboten künst [...].²³

[Your serene Highness, most noble prince and brother-in-law, and son to the most Christian prince, the Margrave Frederic, a genuine lover of spiritual fare and of the noble clergy, since your fair judgement so jealously covets, searches and desires to encounter all secret thruths and now that the command of the Latin language is all you need to reach perfection, it would be most lamentable if your deep erudition were lost to sorcery and deceit. Therefore, It is to you, my noble Lord, that I, Doctor Hartlieb, first direct what I have gathered and written about the seven forbidden arts.]

The grandiloquent rhetoric barely camouflages the author's concern for his addressee's surely measured dedication to magic.²⁴ The risk which the margrave ran resided in his uncommon intellectual curiosity, together with his ignorance of Latin. Unlike the aforementioned French authors, Hartlieb right from the beginning insists on the role the devil has in this, the devil being the undoing of mankind and the one responsible for its dedication to the forbidden arts:

Sölich zaubrey, ungelauben und tiüffels gespenst laider manigem und hohen und nydern menschen hertzen gewurtzelt und gepflantz ist.²⁵

[Similar magic, superstition, and demonic illusions unfortunately flourish in the hearts of persons high and low.]

As Fürbeth studies (1992, 100–105), Hartlieb does not base his analysis of demonic influence via the divination arts and other theological reflections directly on Saint Thomas and the holy doctors whom he cites, but rather on the *Tractatus de superstitionibus* by Nicholas Magni of Jawor,²⁶ a work of Thomist inspiration that was very widespread in the fifteenth century. Hartlieb puts forward the theological material and the scholastic structure of his model(s), and he enriches his discourse through illustrative examples with views on instructing a laical audience, which he aims to protect against demonic influence;²⁷ in fact, in the second part of his treatise, which was not completed, Hartlieb intended to explain the influence of the devil in each of the seven forbidden arts.

²³ Hartlieb (1998, 46).

²⁴ Fürbeth (1992, 120) argues, in fact, that Hartlieb did not write the work by order of the prince, but rather by his own initiative in order to put him on alert.

²⁵ Hartlieb (1998, 44).

²⁶ See Moeller (s.a.); the treatise is available online at Archival/Manuscript Material UPenn Ms. Codex 78. Folios 35r–63v.: <http://dewey.library.upenn.edu/sceti/> (16 September 2017).

²⁷ See Fürbeth (1992, 117–120).

This brief review of anti-superstitious treatises in vernacular language serves as a basis for me to contextualise the *Tratado de la divinança* [*Treatise on Divination*] by Lope de Barrientos (1382/1395–1469) within the contemporary body of European literature. It is interesting to note that the other authors studied are, like him, figures with theological education who are very close to those in power in their time. Lope de Barrientos was confessor²⁸ to King John II (1405–1454), whose children he educated.²⁹ Martínez Casado (1995, 41) observes in this respect that the ‘exercise of the tasks of prince’s teacher implied a closeness that facilitated the personal interaction between John II and Barrientos’. What we are dealing with is therefore the same trust and closeness that characterised Nicole Oresme’s relationship with the French King Charles V and that possibly guaranteed to the converted Spanish Jew the ability to speak with the same frankness about such delicate topics as the Bishop of Lisieux. Whatever the case, the king rewards Barrientos’s services with the bishopric of Cuenca, a position he assumes in 1445. As with the aforementioned French and German authors, Lope de Barrientos writes his *Tratado de la divinança*³⁰ after this date at the behest of his prince: “Por mandamiento del muy esclareçido e muy poderoso e christianissimo rey don Juan, copilado por la su omill fechura. Obispo de Cuenca”³¹ [By order of the most enlightened and powerful and most Christian King John, compiled through humble workmanship. The Bishop of Cuenca]. There are those who explain the scant spreading of Barrientos’s work with the fact that he was known for two diametrically opposite enterprises,³² on the one hand as a defender of converts³³ and on the other, as an inquisitor and as the man responsible for the purging of the library of Enrique de Villena.³⁴

²⁸ See Díez Garretas (1993, 313) and Rábade Obradó (1994, 193).

²⁹ See Martínez Casado (1995, 41) for the Dominican’s work as teacher to the future Henry IV, the future Queen Isabella of Castile, and her brother Alfonso.

³⁰ For John II, Barrientos writes three treatises in total: in addition to *De la divinança*, *De caso e fortuna* and *De los sueños* that were studied by Martínez Casado (1994, 126–138) and (1995, 49), who highlights the ‘admirably sober prose’ with which ‘he explains with notable clarity the proposals of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas’; see also Álvarez López (2000). The *Tractado de caso y fortuna* was edited by Godinas (2006) and the *Tratado del dormir y despertar* by García-Monge Carretero (2001); there is an edition of the three treatises, just as they are transmitted, in a manuscript in the National Library of Madrid by the aforementioned Álvarez López (2000).

³¹ Barrientos (1992, 166).

³² See the explanation of Rísquez Madrid (2012, 336–337).

³³ See García-Jalón de la Lama (1988), Martínez Casado (1995, 46–47) and (1996), Cantera Montenegro (1997) and Amran (2013).

³⁴ Studies on Lope de Barrientos tend to highlight this episode in the life of the Bishop of Cuenca, see Martínez Casado (1994, 23) and Álvarez López (2000, 23). For the burning of the books of Enrique de Villena see also Gascón Vera (1979).

To the monarch, who considered him “servidor e persona de quien mucho fiaba”³⁵ [servant and person in whom I greatly trust], he says at the beginning of the prologue:

Rey christianíssimo, Príncipe de grant poder. Por quanto en el *Tractado de los sueños*, que por mandamiento de tu Alteza copillé, se faze mençion de la adevinança, e non se pusieron en él las espeçes del divinar e adevinança, por lo qual tu Señoría de nuevo me enbió mandar que d'ello te copilase otro tractado; en lo qual, commo dixe en el primero de *Caso e Fortuna*, se muestra bien tu virtuosa condiçion e real deseo en querer saber lo que a todo rey e príncipe pertenesçe saber, ca, non lo sabiendo, non podrías por ty juzgar e determinar en los tales casos de arte mágica, quando ante tu Alteza fuesen denunciados. E por esta causa todos los príncipes e perlados deven saber todas las espeçes e maneras de la arte mágica, porque non les acaesca lo que soy çierto que a otros acaesçió: condenpar los inoçentes e absolver los reos.³⁶

[Most Christian King, Prince of great power. Inasmuch as the *Treatise on Dreams*, which by order of your Highness I compiled, makes mention of divination, and does not include the kinds of divining and divination, because of which your Lordship again issued me an order to compile for you another treatise; in which, as I said in the first treatise on *Matter and Fortune*, one can see your virtuous condition and true desire in wanting to know what falls to every king and prince to know, which, not knowing it, you could not, on your own, judge and determine in such cases of magical art, when before your Highness they were condemned. And for this reason all princes and noblemen should know all varieties and forms of magical art, so as not to succumb to that which, I am certain, befell others: to condemn the innocent and absolve criminals.]

The reason that the monarch should know about magic is, according to Lope de Barrientos, eminently pragmatic: in his position of authority to judge and sentence his subjects, he must be able to differentiate, in the case of accusations through the use of magical arts, between just and unjust. In this brief prologue, Lope de Barrientos does not speak of his decision to draft his treatise in Spanish or the problems that this entails, even though just at the beginning of the first part, when he discusses the question “Si ay adevinança o non” [If there is divination or not], we read:

Esta primera parte es materia muy ardua e de alta especulaci3n, tal que era mejor dezirse por palabra biva que non por escriptura, por quanto ay en ella algunos passos que por es-

35 See Díez Garretas (1993, 314), who also observes: “Y así vemos a Don Lope siempre al lado del monarca, como mediador y como consejero, en los conflictos familiares, sociales y bélicos que se suceden en el reino entre 1441 y 1445” (314–315) [And so we see Don Lope forever at the side of his king, as mediator and counsellor, in conflicts familial, social and military, which occur in this kingdom between 1441 and 1445].

36 Barrientos (1992, 167).

criptura serían difíciles de se entender, especialmente a los que non saben los principios de las sciencias; pero, considerando la excelencia de tu alto juyzio, e asimesmo conociendo que non faltarán a tu Alteza sabios que te aclaren las dudas que ocurrieren, porné aquí las más palpables razones que podré e cessaré de poner otras de tanta importancia que non sufren escriptura en romance, porque a los ignorantes non recrescan dende mayores dudas por las non poder entender, ca de tu alto juyzio e entendimiento, cierto soy que te serán claramente manifestas e notorias, d'ellas por ty e d'ellas con poca ayuda de sabios principados. Pero çéssolo por la causa sobredicha, por ser la escriptura en romance, la qual viniendo verná a notiça de algunos inorantes podrían errar, como dicho es.³⁷

[This first part is an arduous subject and one of great speculation, such that it was better to say it by spoken word rather than in writing, insofar as there are sections of it that, in writing, would be difficult to understand, especially for those who do not know the principles of science; but, considering the excellence of your sublime judgment, and likewise knowing that your Highness is not in want of wise men to clarify the doubts that will arise, I will propound here the most discernible reasons that I can, and I will cease to offer others of equal importance that do not suffer being written in Romance, so that greater doubts do not emerge among the ignorant which they cannot understand, which to your sublime judgment and understanding, I am certain that they will be clearly manifest and evident, either by your own judgement or by the assistance of your wise counsellors. But I desist for the aforementioned reason, because of it being written in Romance, which, as I have said, could be misunderstood it comes to the attention of the unlearned.]

As Martínez Casado observes (1994, 146), the ‘primary virtue’ of the treatise by Lope de Barrientos ‘is in the linguistic achievement of capturing, in Spanish, doctrines that until then were only expressed in Latin’. The researcher is not mistaken, but it is necessary to add that, around the same dates, Johannes Hartlieb writes his book against the forbidden arts in German, a decision that had been made in France on multiple occasions since the middle of the previous century.

In the Spanish court of John II, we can observe the same interest in the arts of divination as in other European courts of the time. Apart from Enrique de Villena, who is an emblematic example of the great-lord-aficionado of the magical arts as mentioned in the French treatises, we know of other nobles devoted to astrology, like Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Maestro of Santiago,³⁸ or Ruy López Dávalos, Constable of Castille, of whom Fernán Pérez de Guzmán tells us that “no fue franco e plaziale mucho oir a estrólogos, que es un yerro en

³⁷ Barrientos (1992, 167).

³⁸ Pérez de Guzmán (1965, 23): “De su esfuerço nunca oí, salvo que en las guerras era diligente e de buena ordenança, lo qual non podía ser sin esfuerço. Guiávase mucho por estrólogos”. [I never heard of his effort, except that during the wars he was diligent and of good order, which could be the case without effort. He was much guided by astrologers].

que muchos grandes se engañan”³⁹ [he was not upright, and it pleased him greatly to hear the astrologers, which is an error in which many great men are deceived]. For Álvarez López, this spreading of the magical arts elicits the reaction of John II:

Con este ambiente, en el que incluso los religiosos se dedicaban a las hechicerías y a la nigromancia, era lógica la alarma del ínclito príncipe cristiano para defender la ortodoxia de sus reinos.⁴⁰

[With this atmosphere, in which even the clerics devoted themselves to sorceries and necromancy, the alarm on the illustrious Christian prince’s part to defend the orthodoxy of his kingdoms was logical.]

From reading the body of anti-superstitious European literature,⁴¹ I would dare to propose another interpretation: it is conceivable that Barrientos feared, as did Hartlieb and the French authors, for the salvation of his king, who could fall victim to demonic forces, like other noble devotees of the forbidden arts. Just as it was with royal chroniclers, the Bishop of Cuenca cannot express such a suspicion, which makes him save the face by pretending that the very king ordered the treatise. In truth, he contributed, as a faithful vassal, to defending his king, with such subtlety that even today researchers believe that Barrientos himself took interest in the forbidden arts, an inclination that could have tarnished the reputation of the Castilian King remembered commonly as a protector of literature and arts.

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³⁹ Pérez de Guzmán (1965, 13); for this, also see Álvarez López (2000, 64).

⁴⁰ Álvarez López (2000, 64).

⁴¹ The researchers – Cuenca Muñoz (1992 and 1994) and Álvarez López (2000) – tend to study Barrientos’s sources in detail, from Aristotle and Cicero to Saint Augustine, Saint Isidore and Saint Thomas, overlooking contemporary European treatises. Cavallero (2010a and 2010b), who studies from a Foucauldian perspective “en qué medida sus tratados anti-mágicos emergen de, e intervienen en, la cruda problemática judeoconversa” (2010a, w/o pages) [to what extent his anti-magical treatises emerge from, and intervene in, the harsh predicament of the Jewish convert] mentions Oresme and Pignon only in passing (2010a, w/o pages).

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Physiognomy in Print and its Readers

Since the 1470s, physiognomic manuals of classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages gain wide distribution in Europe via the printing press. Some of these texts, written in Latin, were translated into Spanish before coming to the printing house. The detailed study of the material nature of these printings, and above all the copies with handwritten annotations, provide interesting pieces of information about the transmission of this kind of knowledge in Spain.¹ As a timeframe, I intend to limit myself to the period of incunables, including some books published slightly later, or, put another way, I will study the “treatises on physiognomy in the realm of *La Celestina*”,² in which these theories hold a certain interest.

a) Pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomic manuals in block letters

The oldest systematic monograph on the interpretation of bodily signs is the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* from the third century B.C., which combines comparisons between men and women with ethnological distinctions and the humoral theory. Much later is the *Secretum secretorum*, a long letter written under the name of the Stagirite to his disciple Alexander the Great. This kind of mirror for princes, which unites all types of knowledge, among them the brief treatise on physiognomy,³ was compiled in Syria in the tenth century. Both pseu-

1 For this methodology, see the works of Stoddard (1985), Alston (1994), Alcorn Baron (2001), Barbieri (2002), Barbieri and Frasso (2003), Sherman (2008) and Orgel (2015). For a categorisation of different types of annotations, see Brayman Hackel (2005, 138): “Early modern readers’ handwritten marks in books generally fall into three classes, each of which exposes a set of attitudes about books and reading (deictics, underlining, summaries, cross-references, queries), to which I refer loosely as marginalia, suggest that the book is to be engaged, digested, and re-read. Marks of ownership (signatures, shelf marks, propriety verses) distinguish a book as a physical object, to be protected, catalogued, inventoried, and valued. Marks of recording (debts, marriages, births, accounts) seem to reside somewhere in between: like ownership marks, they suggest that the book has physical value; like readers’ marks, they convey that the book is a site of information. For each of these three kinds of notes, the book takes on a different role: as intellectual process, as valued object, and as available paper”.

2 I am referring to the historiographic category coined by Cátedra (2001) in the volume *Tratados de amor en el entorno de “Celestina”* [*Treatises on Love in the Realm of “Celestina”*].

3 Williams addresses the Aristotelian *spuria* in the Middle Ages and questions the supposed ingenuity of medieval scholars towards works like the *Secretum*: “It is easy to laugh at the schoolmen’s acceptance of such patently spurious works as the widely read *Secretum secretorum*, the extended missive supposedly sent by the Stagirite to his former pupil Alexander the Great. In

do-Aristotelian works arrived in the West during the Middle Ages by way of the Arab world. There are two Latin translations of the *Secretum Secretorum*: a partial one by John of Seville at the start of the twelfth century,⁴ and a more extensive one at the turn of the thirteenth century by one Philippus Tripolitanus,⁵ which was the more popular version throughout the Middle Ages.⁶ The first vernacular translations were done in Castile in the thirteenth century with the titles of *Poridat de las poridades* and *Secreto de los secretos*.⁷

The *Physiognomonica* was translated from Arabic to Latin at the middle of the same century by Bartolomeo da Messina.⁸ This work, incorrectly attributed to the Stagirite, was not translated into any vernacular in the Middle Ages, but it gained new life with the printed editions of Aristotle. Unlike in the case of the *Secretum secretorum*, there is a Greek original of the work, which permits a philological recovery of the text by way of the humanists who worked to repair the corruption of Greek scientific texts transmitted by way of Arabic. Toward the end of the fifteenth century (Venice, 1495–1498), Aldo Manuzio publishes the impressive edition in folio format in five volumes of Aristotle in Greek, which in the third volume includes the *Physiognomonica*.⁹ Unlike in the case of the *Secretum secretorum* this work is included in many complete works from the Stagirite in Latin, starting in 1482.¹⁰ With Charles B. Schmitt we can distinguish be-

this book Aristotle gives Alexander advice on all sorts of useful occult lore [...] How could even the newly licensed arts teacher, let alone the seasoned philosopher-theologian, actually take such silliness as coming from Aristotle's pen?" (1995, 30); see also the section devoted to the attribution of the *Secretum* (1995, 45–46).

4 See the second chapter ("John of Seville and the introduction of the *Secret of Secrets* to the West") of William (2003, 31–59).

5 See also the third chapter ("Philip of Tripoli and the complete translation") of William (2003, 60–108) and Bizzarri (2010, 16).

6 See Thorndike (1923, II, 267–278) and Eamon (1994, 45–46). In Förster's anthology, three Latin versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* are published (1893, II, 181–222).

7 Bizzarri, who publishes the two Spanish versions, observes: "La rama denominada SS/A fue traducida del árabe al persa, dos veces al hebreo y, finalmente, al castellano directamente de la versión árabe a mediados del siglo XIII, bajo el título *Poridat de las poridades*" (2010, 14–15) [The so-called SS/A branch was translated from Arabic to Persian, twice to Hebrew and, finally, directly to Spanish from the Arabic version at the middle of the thirteenth century, under the title *Poridat de las poridades*]. The Argentine researcher suspects that the translation of the *Secreto de los secretos* is contemporary to the *Siete partidas* and that the *Poridat* could be earlier (2010, 19). For the translations to the Romance languages in the Middle Ages see Zamuner (2005).

8 Consult the text in Förster's anthology (1893, I, 4–92).

9 See Kraye (1995, 201–202).

10 See Schmitt, who observes that the *Secretum* "never appeared in a Latin edition of the *Opera*" (1982, 125). The *Physiognomonica* is included in the fifteenth century in the following complete

tween two categories of *spuria*: “those coming from a Greek original and those for which there was never a Greek text” (1982, 124). The *Physiognomonica* belongs to the first category, and the *Secretum secretorum* to the second, which was marginalised by humanistic philology, according to the aforementioned author:

Thus, in fifteenth-century Italy, under the increasing pressures brought to bear by humanistic critical methods, those works attributed to Aristotle which could not substantiate their claim to authenticity through a Greek original, came to be exiled to a peripheral position.¹¹

In spite of this, the *Secretum secretorum* enjoyed almost the same success in print as the authentic works of Aristotle. The *editio princeps* was published in the translation of the Tripolitanus¹² around 1472 or 1475¹³ in Cologne by Arnold ter Hoernen, and more than 16 editions were published before 1500.¹⁴ Some of them tell us, in an eloquent fashion, of how these pseudo-Aristotelian works were read and studied in early modern times. In 1484, the printer Johann Velde-ner of Leuven, for example prints the pseudo-Aristotelian text, along with a medieval work, the *Physiognomia* by Michael Scott, which had circulated in print since 1477,¹⁵ and to which we will return later. The *Secretum Secretorum* is printed in Spain only in a Latin translation, for the first time around 1495 in Salamanca by Leonardo Hutz and Lope Sanz.¹⁶ An extensive second edition of the translation of the Tripolitanus was published at the start of the sixteenth century with a title that underscores the usefulness of the work: *Utilissimus liber Aristotelis de secretis secretorum*, Burgos, Andreas de Burgos, 1505.¹⁷ An entire series of copies, some with abundant handwritten annotations, is preserved in Spain. In the Na-

Latin works of the Stagirita: Venice, Filippo de' Petri, 4.IV.1482; Venice, Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori for Ottaviano Scoto, 1495–1496 and Venice, Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori for Benedetto Fontana, 1496. See Kraye for the 1496 Venetian edition (1995, 200–201).

¹¹ Schmitt (1982, 125).

¹² Juan of Seville's translation enjoyed little success in print – the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW) knows two editions: [Leipzig, Martin Landsberg, around 1490/1495] and Venice, [Manfredo Bonelli], 1492.

¹³ The GW dates the publication around 1472, while the *Incunabula short title catalogue* (ISTC) proposes 1475.

¹⁴ See Schmitt (1982, 126) and Kraye (1995, 208–209), and for the chronology of the Latin editions of the *Secretum secretorum* Williams (2003, 427–430), who compiles 17 Latin editions. For an updated count, see the network databases of ISTC and of GW which contains the French translations.

¹⁵ See Kraye (1995, 208–209) and Williams (2003, 294).

¹⁶ For this extremely rare incunabulum of which the only copy is preserved in Montserrat, see Altés i Aguiló (1993).

¹⁷ See the description of the edition by Kasten (1934).

tional Library alone there are four copies, two without any sign of the physiognomic part having been read (R/4946 and R/12746).

A third copy (R/19109[1]) has a handwritten annotation on the cover that says: “No le compuso Aristóteles. V[éas]e. Murillo, *Aprobación de ingenios in Epístola contra Astrologiam iudiciariam*, fol. 17” [Not composed by Aristotle. See Murillo, *Approval of Geniuses in Epistle Against Predictive Astrology*].¹⁸ Through the reference to the *Aprobación de ingenios, y curación de hipochondricos* by Tomás Murillo y Velarde, chamber physician to Philip IV, published in Zaragoza by Diego de Ormer in 1672, we can date the note to the end of the seventeenth century.

On the title page of the Madrid copy, with the shelfmark INC/541(1), one finds a series of annotations that are very difficult to decipher. On both sides of the printed title there is a single signature which seems to say “Losa.” Below, it reads: “Alia bona [sign] Miguel de Criales.” It is therefore likely that one of the owners of the book was a man called Miguel, native of Criales de Losa, a minor enclave belonging to the municipality of Medina de Pomar in the province of Burgos. This man was probably responsible for the composition of the factitious volume, in which the *Secretum secretorum* is bound with the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* ([Cologne, Heinrich Quentell], ca. 1489) and with the *Liber phisionomie* by Michael Scott.¹⁹ On the title page of the Scotsman’s work, we can read, in the same handwriting, in addition to some bible quotations and some disjointed words, the name of the owner’s hometown, “Criales.”

Another owner of the same copy of the *Secretum secretorum* was possibly one Juan de Herrera o Hermida, who writes the following in the bottom portion of the cover: “Presto este libro a don Pedro ¿Muñoz? Arziniega / criado del señor Abbad de San Millán / hase de dar al ilustrísimo Abbad de San Isidro, don Pedro de Zúñiga / o a los herederos del dicho Arziniega en / primero de agosto de 1582” [I lend this book to don Pedro Muñoz (?) Arziniega / servant to the lord Abbot of San Millan / to be given to the illustrious Abbot of Saint Isidore, don

18 The copy is filled with underlinings and *manicula* emphasising parts of the text. Also, the missing initials have been added by hand. In the physiognomic section of the text there is an annotation in folio eiiiir that states: “Cojos y otros. Rarenter enim in corpore deformi nobilis formosusque animus residet. D. Augusti. V[éas]e. § vlti. distinct. 41 Mascar. de arti. car. 226 / lib. cent. 3” [Cripples and others. Only exceptionally a noble and beautiful soul is to be found in a deformed body ...]; in the folio eiiiiiir, the reader has noted “tempora = sienes” [tempora = temples].

19 This concerns an edition with no typographical indications, possibly from 1501, with shelfmark I/541(3). In this copy there is an entire series of underlinings in the part concerning coitus and creation.

Pedro de Zúñiga / or to the heirs of said Arziniega on / 1st of August, 1582]. The aforementioned Pedro Zúñiga y Avellaneda was abbot of Saint Isidore the Royal of León from 1576 until his death in 1595.²⁰ It is noteworthy that almost thirty years after the final Latin edition of the *Secretum Secretorum*, the one that Francesco Storella edited in Venice in 1555, someone would have worried so much about the whereabouts of the book. In the text of the same copy there is an abundance of underscoring and marginal annotations in Latin. In the physiognomic part, some reader underscored in a systematic manner the different parts of the body as described in the text.

The study of a few copies of the surviving pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomic works in Spain demonstrates a continued interest in them on the part of different readers all the way to the end of the seventeenth century, in spite of the knowledge that the attribution to the Stagirite could no longer be maintained.

b) Medieval Physiognomic Manuals in the Printing Press

Outstanding among the original physiognomic treatises of the Middle Ages are the *Liber phisonomie* (post 1228) by Michael Scott and the *Compilatio Physionomie* (1295) by Pietro d'Abano, one of the major representatives of Paduan Averroism. While the erudite Scotsman, who writes in the court of Frederick II, links physiognomy with the medical theory of complexions, the Paduan doctor, situated in Paris, studies the bodily signs in relation to astrology.

The first medieval physiognomic study that appeared in print was the *Compilatio Physionomie*. The *editio princeps* was printed in Padua by Pierre Maufer in 1474; it was the typographer's first publication. It wasn't a random choice, keeping in mind the "profonda conoscenza del mercato librario in una città universitaria" [profound knowledge of the book market in a University town] that his biographer Scapecchi attributes to him (2008, without pages), which thus explains the "produzione di opere filosofiche e giuridiche necessarie all'attività dello Studio, curate da professori dello Studio stesso" [the production of philosophical and juridical works that were necessary for the University and that were edited by the professors of the University itself]. Unfortunately, we do not know who the editor responsible for the Pietro d'Abano edition was,²¹ no paratext being available. The small work was not printed again until 1548, when the Paduan doctor Michelangelo Biondo, also the author of a physiognomic manual titled *De cogni-*

²⁰ See Pérez Llamazares (1927, 187–190).

²¹ See for the printing press in Padua Rigoni (1934) and Fattori (1998) and (2010).

tionem hominis per aspectum (1544), reedited it with the title *Decisiones Physiognomiae* (Venice, Comino da Trino). There is virtually no trace of this book in Spain.²²

The *Liber phisonomie* of Michael Scott, on the other hand, enjoyed great success in all of Europe, including the Iberian Peninsula. The *editio princeps* was published in 1477 in Venice by Jacopo da Fivizzano,²³ and bibliographic resources cite more than twenty Latin editions from that year until 1500.²⁴

The only copy of the *princeps*, known in Spain is preserved in the library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (40-V-52[29]) with underlinings and marginal annotations handwritten in Latin, of which I would like to highlight two: On the one hand, the anonymous reader is interested in conceptual questions like the definition of physiognomy as a natural science. On the other hand, the reader underlines some concrete bodily characteristics and their explanation, as in chapter LXXVIII “De barba” [Of the beard] where he notes “Mulieribus pro barb[am] menstruum” [Women have menstruation instead of a beard] and “Mulier sine pilis + eum eisdem” [Women without hair + the same] with a striking curiosity for the feminine condition and its bodily veil, a concern that he shares, as we shall see, with other readers of Michael Scott.

The copies of the Scott’s treatise that survive in Spain are full of erasures²⁵ and handwritten annotations which bear witness to an intense reading of the text. However, the reach of the Scotsman’s medieval ideas into early modern times is due to the Spanish translation of the small work as an appendix of the *Compendio de la salud humana* [*Compendium of Human Health*], attributed to one Johannes of Ketham, a German doctor in the fifteenth century, who very likely did not compose the *vademecum* that circulated under his name.²⁶

²² The only copy of the 1548 edition without any traces of being read is preserved in the National Library in Madrid (3/24523).

²³ See Veneziani, who characterises the edition as “un’opera poco conforme alla sua abituale produzione” (2004, without pages) [a work that does not conform with his usual production].

²⁴ The *ISTC* compiles 24 editions, of which 22 are prior to 1500 and one adjoining the *Secreta secretorum*; the *GW* lists 5 editions that do not correspond to those of the *ISTC*, three of which are post-1500. Add to them another incunabulum (Nürnberg, [Conrad Zeninger,] ca. 1490), held in London (British Library: I A. 11338). See the detailed study of some of these incunabula in Thorndike (1954).

²⁵ In Gernert (2018) I studied the interventions of a censor in a copy of an edition without typographical indications from the National Library. I also found another censored copy in an edition published in Paris by Denis Roce, which is found in the Royal Historical Academy in Madrid (23/6080).

²⁶ For the authorship of the *Fasciculus medicinae* see Keil (1977) and DiMaio, Discepolo and Del Maestro (2006, 188).

The *editio princeps* of the *Fasciculus medicinae* was printed in Venice in 1491 by Giovanni and Gregorio de' Gregori, who published an Italian translation two years later.²⁷ Only one year later a Spanish translation appears (Zaragoza, Pablo Hurus),²⁸ which was to be reprinted twice in 1495: *Compendio de la humana salud*, Burgos, Juan de Burgos, 15.V.1495 and *Epílogo en medicina y cirugía conveniente a la salud* [Epilogue on Medicine and Surgery Beneficial to Health], Pamplona, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 10.X.1495. In the three Spanish editions a *Tractado de la arte de phisonomia* [Treatise on the Art of Physiognomy] is added with no indication of the author's name, as it is none other than Michael Scott. A copy of the *editio princeps*, preserved in the National Library of Madrid (INC 51) contains multiple handwritten annotations that tell us, in eloquent fashion, of the interests of the early reader. On the title page there are notes written by two hands – one, in clear brown ink, that states: “Reconocido y aprouado por el Ldo. Pe. frai Xabierri, fraile de Santo Domingo en predicadores en Çaragoça año 79”²⁹ [Recognised and approved by graduate Pe. Friar Xavier, friar of the Dominican Convent in Zaragoza, year 79]. A second hand notes, in black ink: “Este libro es de Bernabé Martín, cirujano de la ciudad de Daroca. Costó 10 reales”³⁰ [This book belongs to Barnabas Martin, surgeon of the city of Daroca]. Handwritten pathway annotations are drafted according to Abad (2010, I, 468) in the script of the time. Moreover, two medical prescriptions are noted on the title page,³¹ as well at the end of the work in lettering of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Abad 2010, I, 468). This focus, from the perspective of reading history, reveals to us that, among the readers of medieval physiognomic texts, were members of the medical professionals such as surgeons. As is well known, this profession did not require academic training and, as a result, surgeons did not normally understand Latin, and they needed manuals translated into Spanish.

²⁷ See DiMaio, Discepola and Del Maestro (2006).

²⁸ The Spanish version was edited by Sánchez González de Herrero and Vázquez de Benito (2009).

²⁹ The censor is possibly Jerónimo Xavierre O.P. (1546–1608), first premier professor of theology at the University of Saragossa, state confessor to Felipe II, general to his order and cardinal; for his biography, see Echarte (1981).

³⁰ The book must have been passed to the library of the Countess of Campo Alange.

³¹ We read above the title: “para curar la tiña recipe cardenillo miel sangre de drago almástica / yncenso pez seche a cocer todo a forma de inguento / después de aber quitado las costras cocer ase un poco de oropimente / cardenillo en miel forma medio envet” [A recipe to cure scabies: verdigris, honey, *croton urucurana*, mastic, incense, pitch is boiled in the form of an ointment. After taking away the crust it has to boil a little more. From orpiment, verdigris in honey †] and below quite illegible: “dioscorides / gido y culho / francisco diaz / de dro dedores”.

A copy of the Burgos edition by Juan de Burgos, preserved in the Marquess of Valdecilla Historical Library (INC M-16),³² also contains numerous handwritten annotations, above all in the treatise on gynaecological matters. In the physiognomic part, a section is marked concerning the “cabeza gorda” (fol. LXr) [big head] with a cross-out in the right margin. Noted on the front guard sheet³³ is a remedy “Para deshacer la piedra” [to break up kidney stones]: “Toma una liebre, y degollada quémala en una astilla y sus çeniças muélelas / y da al paciente 3 tij† que es bueno para hacer quebrar la piedra” [Take a hare, and having slit its throat, burn it on a wood chip, and pulverise its ashes / and give to the patient 3 tij†, which is good for breaking up stones].³⁴ Another remedy is found in fol. XXXVIIIv of the sixth treatise on “todas las dolencias y enfermedades” [all ailments and illnesses], where it speaks of sciatica: “un pellejo de carnero recientemente / desollado y aplicado en la parte es gran / remedio y si no basta uno se ponen dos” [the skin of a ram recently slaughtered, placed on the area is a great / remedy, and if one is not enough, use two]. These annotations clearly identify the owner of the book as a member of the medical professional.

The largest number of copies to be preserved are those of the Pamplona edition.³⁵ In the copy in the National Library in Madrid, with shelfmark INC/1335, is found a long, handwritten note following the treatise that concerns the plague that precedes physiognomy and another one at the beginning. It addresses a remedy that describes in detail how to prepare bread rolls made from the maiden’s tears plant, along with deer’s antler, to cure those suffering from plague. The transcriber notes that he found the remedy in “un libro del arzobispo de Toledo, don Alonso Carrillo, que santa gloria haya” [a book of the Archbishop of Toledo, don Alonso Carrillo, who be in the glory of God]. This allows us to situate the anonymous writer in a circle close to Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña (1410–1482), probably a doctor with access to the archbishop’s library.

³² A second copy is preserved in the Library of Navarra (FAG/224[2]) in which is found only once a “+” in the margin of the fol. XXXVr.

³³ In the digitalisation, the guard sheets have not been reproduced.

³⁴ On the last page, one reads a fragment, probably written by another hand, of a remedy in Latin: “aqua plantaginis et caput / acetum exquisitis” [water of plantain makes wonderful vinegar].

³⁵ There are three copies in the National Library in Madrid: INC/1516, INC/1335 and INC/1414 as there is one in the Royal Historical Academy (Inc. San Román 18) and another in the Complutense University of Madrid, Marquess of Valdecilla Historical Library (INC I-271).

In the physiognomic part of the copy in the National Library in Madrid with the shelfmark INC/1414, a few paragraphs stand out by way of a *manicula* in the margins³⁶ – among them the following:

¶[...] la tal mujer se llama barbuda, la cual habés de saber que es muy luxuriosa por su caliente complexión [...]. (fol. LXIIr) [that woman is called bearded, whom you must know is very lascivious because of her hot complexion.]

It is impossible to know whether this anonymous reader was searching for the traits of a particular character type – the man of “grueso nudrimento” [thick nourishment] perhaps – or if he was trying to determine the meaning of certain bodily features that he observed in people close to him. What is really striking is that this individual would have heralded, in a book published four years before the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, what is said of the bearded woman. Also in the copy of the Pamplona edition in the Royal Academy of History, an early reader showed interest in feminine hirsutism.

c) Physiognomy and Literature

Thanks to Sanz Hermida (1994), we know the significance which is to be found in the description of the protagonist of Fernando de Rojas as a “puta vieja barbuda”³⁷ [bearded old slag], a trait that she shares with an entire series of marginalised women in medieval and Golden Age literature. I am going to approach the matter from another angle: what I am interested in discovering is how (and why) fiction writers read physiognomic studies.

It is well known that in the *Libro de buen amor* [*Book of Good Love*], feminine hirsutism is a sign of masculinity. Remember how the archpriest of Hita describes the *serrana* Alda: “Mayores que las mías tiene sus prietas barvas”³⁸ [And blacker than the beard I have was that upon her lip]. Juan Ruiz, a cleric, had very likely read the physiognomic theories of Michael Scott in some Latin manuscript. Fernando de Rojas must have encountered them in the *Compendio de la humana salud* without knowing, quite probably, that they were the ideas of an author from the thirteenth century. This compendium does not appear in the testamentary inventory of the author of *La Celestina*, transcribed by Valle Lersundi (1929). This, i.e. its absence in the inventory, does not mean however that he

³⁶ In other places we find a small “x” in the margin.

³⁷ See also Walde Mohen (2007).

³⁸ *Libro de buen amor* 1015a (1992, 251) and English translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 186).

did not know of it, as Infantes (1997) argues in his important study of “Las ausencias en los inventarios de libros y de bibliotecas” [Works missing in inventories of books and libraries]. Rojas’s interest in similar matters is confirmed by the presence of a copy of the *De secretis mulierum*, attributed to Albertus Magnus,³⁹ whose influence in *La Celestina* was recently studied by Fernández Rivera (2015). The researcher explains in a convincing fashion just how “este manual medieval de sexualidad encajaba en el quehacer profesional de Rojas” (2015, 408) [this medieval manual on sexuality fit into Rojas’s professional affairs], since “la virginidad de la mujer al casarse tenía importantes repercusiones legales” (2015, 415) [a woman’s virginity upon marrying carried important legal repercussions]. Although it is obvious that the readers of works about physiognomy who left traces in their books are for the most part linked to the world of medicine, one should not forget the legal applicability of physiognomy, of which we know thanks to jurists like Baldus de Ubaldis,⁴⁰ present in Rojas’s library,⁴¹ and Paris de Puteo,⁴² both of whom insisted on the importance of scrutinising

39 See Valle Lersundi (1929, 383) as well as Gilman (1978, 419). For the Rojas’s testamentary inventory see the studies of Infantes (1998), (2007) and (2012) as well as Velasco Ramos (2009).

40 The Jesuit Martín del Río observes: “Tertio ex iuris interpretibus, quorum communione calculo receptum, quando plures de aliquo crimen sunt accusati & capti, primum quaestioni subiici debere illum, qui facie deformior, quoniam credendus sit animo quoque pravior” (1612, 261) [Thirdly (*one should proceed*) according to the interpreters of the law: if many individuals are charged and get arrested for a certain crime, they unanimously recommend to question first the one with the ugliest face, as they assume he will also have the most despicable soul], citing in the marginal gloss Baldus de Ubaldis, Paris de Puteo, Hippolytus and Masilius (“Bal. in l.2.n.5. C. quorum appella. non recip. Paris de Syndicatu, Hippolytus, Marsil. & alii”). For the legal use of physiognomy see Schneider (1996, 165–166); in note 40 he quotes the commentary of the *Codex Iustiniani* VV, 65 of Baldus: “... bis sese fecisse indicia ex physiognomia, unum habentem faciem decoram & apertam, deficientibus indiciis fortioribus absolutum, alterum pravam & despectam physiognomiam prae se ferentem, condemnatum fuisse [...]” [... one has to take into consideration physiognomic hints: a man with a noble and open face had been acquitted in the absence of stronger evidence, while another one with a perverse and despicable physiognomy had been found guilty ...].

41 Valle Lersundi (1929, 382): “Yten Baldo sobre los feudos” [Moreover Baldus on fiefdoms] and “Yten Baldo sobre el Esforçado” [Moreover Baldus on Dedication], that is to say the commentary from the *Infortiatum*, the second part of the *Digesta*.

42 See assertions like “Vultus est liber et litera mentis” (1560, 114v) [The face is book and letter of the mind] or “O quam difficile est crimen non prodere vultu” (1560, 478v y 440v) [Alas, how difficult it is to not reveal a crime in the face], which is a quotation from Ovid (*Met.* II, 447). Horozco y Covarrubias scolds: “tengo por peligroso negocio el querer hacer caso de señales ni del buen rostro o malo, para la averiguación de los delitos por más que París de Puteo diga que acertó muchas veces, pues no dice las que se engañó que sería mucho más” (1588, 94r–v) [I have as a dangerous business the desire to heed signals in neither the good nor the bad face,

the face in order to identify one guilty of a crime.⁴³ If bodily signs have significance of evidentiary value in the legal process, it is not surprising that they would have the same in a literary work written by a law student. For example: Upon describing Melibea's beauty in the first play, Calisto highlights – as does don Amor in the *Libro de buen amor* –⁴⁴ the “redondeza y forma de las pequeñas tetas”⁴⁵ [roundness and form of her small breasts]. Michael Scott describes the sexually active woman (“Signa mulieris calide nature et que coit libenter” [Signs of women of hot nature and who likes to have sexual intercourse]) with “mammas [...] parvas et illas convenienter plenas et duras” (1477, IV, without pages) [small breasts that are conveniently full and hard]. To the reader familiar with these theories, it should not be surprising that a woman with such characteristics could be so easily corrupted, given her innate inclination to lust. We are confronting, therefore, a realistic form of writing, with an authenticity that is conceptually based on scientific proposals.⁴⁶ The archpriest of Hita, together

for the inquiry of crimes, even if Paris de Puteo says that he was correct many times, he does not mention those in which he was wrong, as its number would be far greater].

43 Anthroposco (1784, 364): “Der Nutzen, den sich die Juristen von der Physiognomonik versprechen, kann nicht verborgen bleiben, weil die mehresten Ausleger der Rechte, worunter ich nur den Baldus in L. II. n.5. C. *quorum appell. non recip.* und Paris *de syndicato* anführe, die Regel festgesetzt hatten, daß im Fall wegen eines Verbrechens mehrere angeklagt und gefänglich eingezogen worden wären, so sollte derjenige vor allen anderen in die Inquisition kommen, dessen Ansehen nichts Gutes zu erkennen gäbe, weil man von dem Aeußerlichen auf das Innerliche einen untrüglichen Schluß machen könne” [The benefit jurists hope to gain from physiognomy cannot remain secret, because most of the interpreters of the laws, among whom I only mention Baldus II. n.5. C. *quorum appell. non recip.* and Paris *de syndicato*, had established the rule that if in case of a crime there were several persons accused and imprisoned, the most hideous of them should be come to the Inquisition first, because it is possible to proceed in an unmistakable way from the outer appearance to the inward].

44 In the portrait of the ideal lady, don Amor advises looking for a woman with small breasts: “si ha los pechos chicos; si dize ‘sí’, demandes” *Libro de buen amor* (1992, 115) [Do ask her if her breast are small, and if they are, why glory], translation Kane (1933 [2005], 88).

45 Rojas (2000, 45).

46 See an analogous reflection on the significance of Melibea's fury and her choleric temperament in Lacarra (1997, 118): “Es por ello comprensible que los autores de *Celestina* consideraran que entre los cuatro temperamentos el colérico era quizás el más apropiado para caracterizar a una mujer libidinosa que claudica rápidamente a los avances amorosos del caballero y que está dispuesta a todo para satisfacer su placer, incluso sacrificando a sus propios padres y a sí misma. La elección de este temperamento y su manifestación en la primera escena proporcionaba sin duda a los lectores coetáneos las claves que permiten comprender y explicar su rápida *corrupción*” [For this reason it is understandable that the authors of *La Celestina* would consider that, among the four temperaments, the choleric was perhaps the most appropriate for characterising a lecherous woman who quickly gives in to the amorous advances of the gentleman, and

with Fernando de Rojas (and later Miguel de Cervantes), combine literary clichés and aesthetic norms with scientific ideas about the human body, and only the study of their readings permits to appreciate the complexity and beauty of their characters.

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who is open to anything to satisfy her pleasure, even sacrificing her parents and herself. The choice of this temperament and its manifestation in the first scene undoubtedly gave contemporary readers the keys to understanding and explaining her rapid *corruption*].

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The Legitimacy of the Partially Occult Sciences, Physiognomy and Chiromancy in the Face of the Inquisition

Among the books that in August of 1992 were found immured in the town of Barcarota in Extremadura, two chiromantic works by Patrizio Tricasso da Cerasari were discovered, one in Latin and the other in Italian.¹ This discovery of heterodox books, whether their owner was a bookseller² or a converted Jewish doctor,³ tells us eloquently about their dissemination and popularity among the contemporaries, as well as about the problematic status of this pseudoscience, whose texts are hidden as a precaution even before the publication of the Quiroga index in 1583⁴ and before the papal bulls⁵ that, starting in 1586, gradually pro-

1 “Nº 1: [1525]: *Tricassi Cerasariensis Mantuani. Super Chyromantiam Coclytis Dillucidationes Praeclarissimae. Ad illustrissimi Dominum D. Federicum Gonzagha. Mantuae Marchionem. M.D.XXV*” and “Nº 10: [1543]: *Chyromantia del Tricasso da Ceresari Mantuano ingeniosamente estratta da i libri de Aristotile et altri Philosophi naturali*”. See the webpage that offers digitalisations of the works found at: <http://www.bibliotecadeextremadura.com/> (13 October 2010). Also consult the works of Lama (2007) and Sánchez Salor (1999) and (2007).

2 As proposed by Rico (2000), who observes: “El caso es que esa docena de piezas no dibuja el perfil consecuente de ningún lector, sino los dúctiles rasgos de un librero. Cuesta figurarse a un admirador español de Erasmo que se interesase por la *Oración de la emparedada*, a la vez que compaginaba la piedad erudita de las *Predicaciones*, la querencia hugonote de “aucuns nouveaux poètes” y la pornografía italiana de *La Cazzaria*. Por el contrario, la desemejanza de temas y orientaciones, la pluralidad de lenguas y procedencias (con ventaja para los grandes centros comerciales de Lyon y Venecia), la presentación material y otros indicios hacen pensar decididamente en la parte problemática de un fondo de librería” [The matter at hand is that these dozen pieces do not depict the consequent profile of any reader, rather the ductile traits of a bookseller. It is difficult to imagine a Spanish admirer of Erasmus who would be interested in the *Prayer of the Immured*, at the same time it reconciled the erudite piety of the *Predications*, the Huguenot fondness of “some new poets” and the Italian pornography of *The Book of the Prick*. On the contrary, the dissimilarity of topics and orientations, the plurality of languages and origins (with advantage to the great commercial centres of Lyon and Venice), the material presentation and other signs make one think deeply about the problematic part of a bookseller’s collection].

3 See Serrano Mangas (2004) and (2007).

4 See the ninth rule that posits a generalised sentence for all kinds of writing on the invocation of demons by way of all sorts of practices, explicitly including chiromancy: “Otrosí se prohíben todos los libros, tratados, cédulas, memoriales, recetas y nóminas para invocar demonios por cualquier vía y manera, ora sea por nigromancia, hidromancia, piromancia, aeromancia, onomancia, quiromancia y geomancia, ora por escritos y papeles de arte mágica, hechicerías, brujerías, agüeros, encantamientos, conjuros, cercos, caracteres, sellos, sortijas y figuras” (*apud*

hibited predictive astrology and related disciplines because they were not compatible with Tridentine dogma.

In this article I will be presenting, more than results, some methodological approaches in order to analyse – for the period of the Golden Age – the legitimacy of what I have designated in the title as partially occult sciences.⁶ I am referring to a series of pseudosciences like the aforementioned chiromancy, physiognomy or metoposcopy, which strive to unravel supposed symbols of unclear psychological or physiological realities registered in the human body:⁷ birthmarks, the lines of the hand and forehead, or simply all the particularities of a person's anatomy.

The legitimacy of the interpretive practice of physiognomy, as every author of this kind of text in the prologues of these works tends to assert, has been developed in different ways. In his *Commentarius de praecipuis generibus divinationem*, published in 1553 in Wittenberg, Caspar Peucer answers the question “¿Quod sint aliqua divinationum genera non impia, nec superstitiosa, et Christianis concessa?”⁸ [Which are the genres of divination that are neither godless nor superstitious and are permitted to Christians?] with regard to physiognomy, chiromancy, and astrology, stating that it concerns the interpretation of signs that man can read with divine authority. Evidently in his case, something must have contributed to its prohibition such that the works of this Protestant humanist were more problematic in Spain than the knowledge that he tried to defend.⁹

The interpretation of these bodily signs became a thorny issue that clashed with the theological discourse of the time whenever it expressed its heuristic interest in the future, given that physiognomic predetermination collided head-on

Martínez de Bujanda 1993, 884) [Also prohibited are all books, treatises, certificates, memorials, prescriptions, and lists to invoke demons by any means, either by necromancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, aeromancy, onomancy, chiromancy and geomancy, or by writings and papers on the magical arts, spells, witchcraft, omens, incantations, conjuring, magical circles, characters, seals, rings, and figures].

5 See the papal bulls *Coeli et Terrae Creator* (5.1.1586) of Sixtus V and *Inscrutabilis iudiciorum* (1.4.1631) by Urban VIII, and for Gregory XIII's fight against necromancy and predictive astrology, see Piccari (2007, 25).

6 See Muñoz Calvo (1977), Kamen (1980), Pinto Crespo and Pérez Villanueva (1983), Márquez (1986), Pardo Tomás (1991) and (2003), Alcalá Galve (2001), also Peña Díaz (2002). To better understand the functionality of the authorities of the Holy Office, see the classic by Lea (1983).

7 In addition to the writings about the signatures of Paracelsus and of his student Oswald Crollius, see Kühlmann (1992) and Winkler (1996).

8 Peucer (1591, 1r).

9 See entry 641 in the Spanish index of 1583, published in Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 329).

with the dogma of free will, a matter long discussed in Western philosophical/theological and literary debates. One could always resort to trying to reduce the problem of inherent determinism in physiognomy, noting that the bodily disposition of men was nothing more than an *inclinatio* that could be conquered thanks to moral virtue and excellence.

With all of this, in the concrete case of physiological analysis, it wouldn't have been any panacea, as the ninth rule of the Quiroga index explains in detail which illegal practices are linked to the divination arts and judiciary astrology, placing particular emphasis on the function that, for its determination, man's free will had:

También se prohíben todos los libros, tractados y escritos, en la parte que tratan y dan reglas, y hacen arte, o ciencia para conocer por las estrellas y sus aspectos, o por las rayas de las manos, lo porvenir que está en la libertad del hombre, y los casos fortuitos que han de acontecer; o que enseñan a responder lo hecho, o acontecido, en las cosas pasadas, libres y ocultas, o lo que sucederá en lo que depende de nuestra libertad, que son las partes de la judicaria que llaman de nascimientos, interrogaciones y elecciones.¹⁰

[Also prohibited are all books, treatises, and writings as they concern and give rules, and make art or science meant to know, by way of the stars and their aspects, or by the lines of the hands, the future, which is within man's freedom, and the fortuitous cases that must occur; or that teach how to respond to what is done, or has come to be, in things past, free and hidden, or what will happen with things that depends on our freedom, as are the parts of astrological prediction that herald births, divinations and choices.]

Thanks to a study by Pinto Crespo¹¹ we know that in the case of predictive astrology inquisitors did not condemn *ab initio* all texts on this practice, but rather differentiated very subtly between the permitted and the prohibited. The forbidden territory is limited to all that questions free will. Apologists for astrology, for example doctor Gachapay in his *Astronómica defensa* [*Astronomic Defence*], quoted by Pinto Crespo, convey the same arguments as those of physiognomy's defenders:¹² the influence of the stars – just as with certain bodily traits among men – is not determinant but rather informative. Returning to the ninth rule of the quoted index, we see that, in this case in particular, this condition of an empirical path of access to knowledge constitutes the basis of a certain permissiveness:

¹⁰ Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 884).

¹¹ Pinto Crespo (1983, 288–289).

¹² Pinto Crespo (1983, 291).

Pero no por esto se prohíben las partes de la Astrología que tocan al conocimiento de los tiempos y sucesos generales del mundo ni las que enseñan por el nacimiento de cada uno a conocer sus inclinaciones, condiciones y cualidades corporales [...].¹³

[But this is not why those parts of Astrology are prohibited that touch on knowledge of the times and general occurrences in the world, or those that teach how, through a person's birth, one can know his inclinations, conditions and bodily qualities ...]

This section suggests that the study of the bodily signs, as proposed by physiognomy, was not condemned to irrevocable and categorical sanction, as is shown in the case of the Neapolitan natural philosopher Giovanni Battista Della Porta, famous in all of Europe. We have ample documentation and recent studies on the fluctuating relationship between the Neapolitan philosopher and the Inquisition. Without fully entering into the complicated history of his relations with the Holy Office,¹⁴ I want to briefly summarise the preserved data on the vicissitudes in the legal process that followed his physiognomic works. When, in 1586, he publishes the Latin text of *De humana physiognomonia*,¹⁵ after awaiting the *imprimatur* for three years, he adds at the last minute, after the dedication to Luigi d'Este, a disquisition in which he explains that physiognomy is a practice that does not question human free will:¹⁶

13 Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 884–885).

14 Concerning this topic, I defer to the studies of Aquilecchia (1968), Lopez (1974), Valente (1999) as well as, recently, Piccari, in particular chapter 3 “I rapporti con l’Inquisizione” [The relations to the Inquisition] (2007, 24–29), and Tarrant (2012).

15 Della Porta, *De humana physiognomonia libri IIII*; a copy is available online: <http://fermi.imss.fi.it/rd/bd?lng=en#> (31 October 2011).

16 Regarding this, see Aquilecchia (1968, 27, note 79): “Della Porta prevenne l’accusa di determinismo già con l’edizione latina della *Physiognomonia*, premettendovi una dichiarazione secondo cui l’aspetto delle persone indica solo tendenze del carattere, ferma restando la libertà delle coscienze nel seguire o meno le inclinazioni naturali [...] La fisionomia e la chiromanzia erano, del resto, già state condannate con l’Index pubblicato da Paolo IV nel 1559, che può essere considerato come una anticipazione sintetica della bolla sistina del 1586”) [Della Porta anticipates the accusation of determinism with the Latin edition of the *Physiognomonia* by adding as a prefix a declaration according to which the aspect of a person indicates only tendencies of character, while the freedom of conscience to follow the natural inclinations or not remains untouched ... Physiognomy and chiromancy had been condemned, in any case, by the index published by Paul IV in 1559, that can be considered a synthetic anticipation of the Sixtine bull from 1586] and Piccari (2007, 99): “Consapevole dell’incerto statuto della fisiognomica, Della Porta sapeva che l’Inquisizione avrebbe potuto sottoporre l’opera a censura, tanto è vero che egli fece aggiungere, a stampa già ultimata, alcune scarse righe in cui dichiara trattarsi di materia congetturale, che non recava pregiudizio al libero arbitrio largito da Dio agli uomini” [Aware of the uncertain status of physiognomy, Della Porta knew that the Inquisition could have censured the work, but it is true that he added, when the printing was already completed, some meagre

Haec scientia coniecturalis est, nec semper optatum assequitur finem: cuius signa naturales tantum propensiones indicare possunt, non autem actiones nostrae liberae voluntatis, vel que es vitioso, vel studioso habitu dependent: nam in bonis, malisque actionibus, quae in nostra potestate sunt, virtus & vitium consistunt, non autem in propensionibus, quae in nostra voluntate non sunt.¹⁷

[This is a conjectural science, and it does not always come to the desired end, because the natural signs can only indicate somebody's inclination, not the actions of our free will, whether somebody is depraved or industrious depends on habit, for good and bad actions depend on ourselves, virtue and vice stand, but not because of inclinations that do not depend on our will.]

On the 9th of April, 1592, the Venetian Inquisition prohibits the publication of the Italian translation of *De humana physiognomoniam* with the title *La fisionomia dell'uomo*, and any other of his works that would make predictions about the future, also ruling that the Neapolitan author must request authorisation from the Holy Office in Rome to publish any of his works, under penalty of excommunication and a fine of 500 gold ducats.¹⁸ Two days later, the same exhortation is directed at the Italian bookseller Barezzo Barezzi:¹⁹

De mandato del Santo Tribunale della Santissima Inquisizione di Venezia in essecuzione delle littere dell'Ill.^{mo} et Rev.^{mo} Cardinale Santa Severina date in Roma li 21 marzo prossimo passato se intima a voi, M. Barezzo Barezzi libraro che ad istanza de Gio. Battista Porta napolitano non dobbiate né stampar, né far stampare in questa città, né altrove il libro de fisionomia in lingua volgare, né altro libro di sua composizione senza espressa licenza del supremo Tribunale del Sant'Offizio di Roma.²⁰

lines in which he declared that it was about a conjectural subject that did not undermine the free will given by God to mankind]. Also see the works of Trabucco (2002) and (2005).

17 In that regard, see also Aquilecchia (1990, 222) with a transcription of the text in note 38, who observes: “[...] un’inserzione preventiva nei confronti dell’Inquisizione poté essere effettuata solo a c. xxijv, in calce all’epistola dedicatoria al Card. Luigi d’Este, nel mezzo della pagina con caratteri tipografici diversi (in tondo, mentre l’epistola è in corsivo) inchiostri di fresco, su cinque righe che risultano impresse in quel luogo facendo torto all’economia e all’estetica della pagina” [... a preventive insertion with regard to the Inquisition could only be made in folio XXIIv, at the bottom of the dedication to cardinal Luigi d’Este, in the middle of the page with a different type of letter (in round letters, not in italics like the epistle), with fresh ink, in five lines printed in that place, injuring the aesthetics of the page].

18 The decree is preserved in the Archive of the State of Venice (Fondo Santo Uffizio, busta 69) and was published by Fiorentino (1911, 265), likewise later transcribed by Amabile (1892) and Aquilecchia (1968, 23–24). Regarding this, see also Piccari (2007, 26 and notes).

19 See the chapter “Barezzi editore, traduttore, scrittore” [Barezzi, editor, translator, writer] in Masala (2004, 21–38).

20 I cite the transcription of Aquilecchia (1968, 25).

[By commandment of the Holy Office of the Sacred Inquisition of Venice in execution of the letters of the most Distinguished and Reverend cardinal Santa Severina dated in Rome the 21st of last March, it is ordered to you, Barezzo Barezzi, librarian, that, by request of Giovanni Battista Porta from Naples, you must neither print, nor give the task of printing in this city nor in any other place, his book about physiognomy in the vernacular, nor any other of his works without the license of the supreme Tribunal of the Holy Office in Rome.]

Subsequently, Annibale di Capua, the Archbishop of Naples, warns the author on repeated occasions not to print *Fisonomia*.²¹ However, in 1598 Della Porta published his *Fisonomia dell'huomo* in Naples, naming as translator his friend, Giovanni de Rosa.²² Thanks to his friendship with the influential Roman noble Federico Cesi, a founding member of the Accademia dei Lincei, Della Porta received permission from the Roman Inquisition to print, in 1610, the Italian translation of the new version of *De humana physiognomia*.²³ His other study, the *Coelestis physiognomoniae*, was published in Latin in 1601²⁴ and in an Italian translation in 1614,²⁵ but it seems that Della Porta had written it some time earlier, according to what is seen in a letter, of great interest to our purposes, that the Paduan Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617), professor of mathematics in Bologna, writes to him on 27 July, 1594:

Ritrovandomi dal Molto Illustre Signor Nostro et parlandosi a buon proposito di Vostra Signoria, quel Signore mi fece sapere come trall'altre opere ch'ultimamente da lei composte ha compita una fisionomia celeste il che mi fu d'estremo contento per la curiosità et nocità di quella sperando di vederla un giorno fuori al mondo, benché mi nascesse qualche dubbio intorno alla licenza di stamparla, nella quale occasione [...] la supplico per parte mia a farne capo per stamparla in Alemagna, che non haverà alcuna difficoltà, né gli sarà levata cosa alcuna, vedendosi chiaramente, quanto siano ambitosi colori di stampare le cose sue, essendo horamai in Francfort ristampate tutte le sue opere, et ultimamente la sua fisionomia.²⁶

²¹ For details see Lopez (1974, 333–334) and Piccari (2007, 28).

²² *Della fisionomia dell'huomo di Gio. Battista della Porta napolitano. Libri quattro. Tradotti da latino in lingua volgare per Giovanni Di Rosa professore di l'una e l'altra legge. Con l'aggiunta di cento ritratti di rame di più di quelli della prima impression.* Napoli: Tarquinio Longo, 1598.

²³ See Piccari (2007, 43–44); for the relations between Della Porta and Cesi and with the Accademia dei Lincei see Gabrieli (1927).

²⁴ *Coelestis Physiognomoniae.* Napoli: Giovanni Battista Sottile, 1601.

²⁵ *Della celeste fisionomia libri sei.* Napoli: Lazaro Scoriggio, 1614.

²⁶ The letter is preserved in the Ambrosian Library with shelfmark S94sup., page 225r–v. I cite from Aquilecchia (1985, 311). The first edition of *On Human Physiognomy* in Germany was published in 1593 in Hannover by P. Fischer (“Nunc ab innumeris mendis, quibus passim Neapolitana scatebat editio, emendati, primumque in Germania in lucem editi” [At this time amended from the countless errors which sprang up from the edition from Naples; now for the first time published in Germany]).

[When I was with our Most Illustrious Lordship and talking with him in this regard about you, his Lordship let me know that, among the works you composed lately there is a celestial physiognomy. This was of great pleasure to me because of the curiosity I have about it, hoping to see it out in the world someday, although I felt some doubt about the license to print it, and therefore on this occasion ... I beg you for my part to print it in Germany, where you won't have any difficulties and where nothing will be removed from it. It is very clear how much desire they have there to publish your works, and in Frankfurt they actually reprinted all your books and lately your physiognomy.]

He never obtained license, however, to publish his *Chiromantia*, which came to light with the title *Chirofisonomia* by way of Pompeo Sarnelli in 1677. Nor was he able to publish his *Metoposcopia*, which has come to us handwritten and was discovered and published by Aquilecchia (1990).

In spite of the difficulties described, the works of Della Porta circulated throughout Europe and were widespread in Spain. Remember that Calderón de la Barca quotes the Neapolitan as an authority in his *El astrólogo fingido* [*The Fake Astrologer*].²⁷ As for the Spanish *Indices librorum prohibitorum*, only the Quiroga index of 1583 mentions the Neapolitan philosopher, exclusively for his *Magia naturalis*.²⁸ Those that are indeed present, as one can appreciate in examining the Spanish indexes, are only a few of the texts that interest us, specifically the Spanish index of 1559 that prohibits the works of Bartolomeo della Rocca, called Cocles,²⁹ of Girolamo Cardano³⁰ and of Ioannis ab Indagine;³¹ in the index of 1583 is added, in addition to the aforementioned work by Giovanni

27 See the recent edition by Rodríguez-Gallego (2011), and Schizzano Mandel (1990).

28 In addition to the classic work by Reusch (1883–1885), the most recent publication of the indexes of Martínez de Bujanda is fundamental, particularly the volumes dedicated to the Spanish Inquisition (1984) and (1993). In the long run, very interesting results are expected from a research project located at the University of Münster, presented by Wolf and Arning (2010).

29 Martínez de Bujanda (1984, 316–318): “30. *Bartholomei Coclitis, physiognomiae et chiromantiae compendium*”. It concerns, according to Martínez de Bujanda, a “condamnation originale” (1984, 316) [original prohibition], as the index of Rome, 1559, 96 prohibits another work by the same author (“*Anastasis Chiromantiae ac Physionomiae*”) and that of Venice, 1554, 59 prohibited all the works of said author. The condemnation is repeated in the index of 1583, Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 185–186).

30 See Martínez de Bujanda (1984, 368–372); particularly interesting for our context is the prohibition of *De subtilitate*, which contains a chapter on “De subiecto physiognomiae & chiromantiae”, and which was previously condemned in the index of Paris, 1551, 71, which refers to the Lyon edition: Guillaume Rouillet, 1550. The condemnation is repeated in the index of 1583, Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 354).

31 Martínez de Bujanda (1984, 394): “279 Ioannis Indaginis, chiromantia”. It concerns a “condamnation unique” of a “auteur condamné dans Roma, 1559, 517”. In the index of 1583 all works by the German author are prohibited, see Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 404).

Battista della Porta,³² the *Examen de ingenios* [Examination of Men's Wits] by Juan Huarte de San Juan “no se emendando y corrigiendo”³³ [with no need to be amended or corrected]. This brief list posits an entire series of questions on its own, and also for some of the absences – of texts and authors not compiled –, which will bring me to examine the true effect that the Inquisition's condemnations had.

The Spanish indexes did not explicitly prohibit all the physiognomic works that circulated around the country, starting, as it happens, with the chiromantic studies of Patrizio Tricasso da Cerasari, hidden in Barcarrota, which nonetheless were condemned by the Roman indexes of 1559 and 1596.³⁴ Another author, absent from the Spanish indexes, one who deserves our attention, is Alessandro Achillini, master of the condemned Cocles, and a much-read author in academic circles of the sixteenth century, whose works are only condemned in the Roman index of 1590.³⁵

Many copies of the specifically physiognomic works of Achillini are now preserved in the library of the University of Salamanca, some originating either in the colleges or in the Jesuit library,³⁶ which was, until 1767, the library of the Royal College of the Holy Spirit. It is beyond well-known that the Society of Jesus, in accordance with its commitment to education,³⁷ had established important libraries throughout Europe,³⁸ and Salamanca is no exception,³⁹ nor with regard to the works in which we are interested: a copy of the *Opera omnia* by Achil-

³² Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 393–394 and 456).

³³ See Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 593) and for the index of 1584 (1993, 817–819).

³⁴ See Martínez de Bujanda (1996, 387), who compiles the condemnation of the *Chyromantia* in the Roman indexes of 1559 and 1596 as well as that of the *Dilucidationes super chyromantiam Coclytis* in the Roman index of 1596.

³⁵ See Martínez de Bujanda (1996, 50) for the condemnation of his *De chyromantiae principiis et physiionomiae* in the Roman index of 1590.

³⁶ Regarding this, see Eguía Ruiz (1944) and for the Salmantinian case, Becedas González (1999).

³⁷ For the French case, see Mech (1988).

³⁸ For the Jesuit teaching of sciences see chapter 4 “Natura, arte, chimica e magia” [Nature, art, chemistry and magic] in Baroncini (1981, 185–192).

³⁹ See Becedas González (1999, 519): “Como todas las bibliotecas de la Compañía de Jesús, el Colegio de Salamanca creó una biblioteca de ámbito común en la que pretendía hacer compatibles las necesidades religiosas y apostólicas con la dedicación docente de sus miembros, obligándose, por tanto, a adquirir obras de disciplinas diversas y actualizar continuamente sus colecciones” [Like all the libraries of the Society of Jesus, the College of Salamanca created a library of common study in which it sought to establish compatibility between religious and apostolic needs and the instructional dedication of its members, being obliged, therefore, to acquire works of diverse disciplines and continually update its collections].

lini (1551) was in the possession of the Colegio Real de la Compañía de Jesús (Royal College of the Society of Jesus),⁴⁰ another copy from 1545 belonged to the Irish College, founded in 1592, which was also under the direction of the Jesuits. This same copy was later passed to the graduate Antonio de Zamora, who noted in the cover page: “Este libro es el más curioso que tengo”⁴¹ [this book is the most curious one that I have]. Another copy of the *Opera omnia* of the professor of Bologna, printed in 1545, was held in the library of one of Salamanca’s colleges, that of Oviedo.⁴² One can see the massive presence of physiognomic works in the university environment, which is explained by the fact that these divination techniques were considered scientific. Thus Achillini shows great interest in highlighting the validity of the material that deals with and gives particular importance to the proof that “physionomia et chyromantia sunt scientiae”⁴³ [physiognomy and chiromancy are sciences]. The curricular legitimisation of physiognomy is based in most cases on the authority of Aristotle, as Zambelli ascertained.⁴⁴ Later on, at the start of the seventeenth century, even the protective

40 It is the copy with shelfmark BG/13204(1) of *Alexandri Achillini Bononiensis philosophi celeberrimi Opera omnia in unum collecta: De intelligentiis. De orbibus. De uniuersalibus. De physico auditu. De elementis. De subiecto physionomiae & chiromantiae. De subiecto medicinae. De prima potestate syllogismi. De distinctionibus. De proportionibus motuum. Cum annotationibus excellentissimi doctoris Pamphili Montii Bononiensis, scholae Patauinae publici professoris*. Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1551.

41 It concerns a copy with shelfmark BG/38004 de *Alexandri Achillini Bononiensis philosophi celeberrimi Opera omnia in unum collecta*. Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1545. Compare accordingly the *Proyecto Exlibris* in Salamanca’s University Library. Another copy among those that are now preserved in the university library of Salamanca (shelfmark BG/I. 35[4]) came from the convent of San Esteban: *Habes accuratissime lector Alexandri Achillini Bononiensis philosophorum nostrae etatis decoris opera lima eiusce actoris repollita et extersa ac denuo maxima cura ac diligentia impressa. De intelligentiis. De orbibus. De uniuersalibus. De elementis; De principiis chyromantie et physionomie. De potestate syllogismi. De subiecto medicine*. Venezia: Boneto Locatello, 1508. This convent library also possessed a copy of Jerónimo Cortés. *Libro de phisonomia natural*. Madrid: Pedro de Madrigal, 1601 (shelfmark: BG/36432[1]). For the books of the Colegio de San Patricio see Becedas González (1999, 513–514).

42 See the copy with shelfmark BG/135814(1) of *Alexandri Achillini Bononiensis philosophi celeberrimi Opera omnia in unum collecta*. Venezia: Girolamo Scoto, 1545.

43 Achillini (1545, 152).

44 Zambelli (1978, 65–66): “Era evidentemente più arduo e impegnativo legittimare scientificamente la fisionomia e la chiromanzia, le quali per venir annoverate nel curriculum universitario, avevano bisogno di una ‘resurrezione’ che proprio in quegli anni avverrà per la prima contrabbandata dai commenti all’opuscolo pseudoaristotelico dei *Parva naturalia*, che faranno appunto della fisionomia la scienza occulta più legata [...] alla tradizione aristotelica”. [It was certainly very arduous and demanding to legitimise physiognomy and chiromancy in a scientific way, which needed, for being included in the academic curriculum, a resurrection, that exactly in

umbrella of the Stagirite did not prevent the rise of problems: in the note of *Lo stampatore ai lettori* [The printer to his readers] from the 1629 edition of the Aristotelian *Libro intitolato il perchè* by Girolamo Manfredi we can read:

Et essendo opera composta da un Gentile privo della lume della vera fede, l'ho data a ripurgare a persone dottissime e catolicissime le quali hanno restituita veramente (per dir così) la sanità.⁴⁵

[Since it is a work composed by a Pagan without the light of faith, I gave it to some erudite and very Catholic persons who purged it and (so to speak) gave it back its sanity.]

It seems that this prior self-censorship was what protected the work from being condemned by Inquisitors.

Another noteworthy absence from all the indexes is that of the Belgian Jean Taisnier, author of an ample manual on chiromancy and physiognomy titled *Opus mathematicum octo libros complectens*, mentioned by Lope de Vega in *Servir a señor discreto* [To Serve a Discrete Lord] (1618).⁴⁶ Taisnier's book circulated in Spain, where two copies of the first edition, printed in Cologne by Birckmann & Richwin in 1562, are preserved: one in the National Library and the other in the

those years arose through the first outbreak of the comments of the pseudo-Aristotelian work of the *Parva naturalia*, which made out of physiognomy the occult science most firmly linked to the Aristotelian tradition]. See also Caputo (1990, 77–78): “Sin dal basso Medioevo si cerca di legittimare scientificamente la fisiognomica (ma anche le altre pratiche divinatorie come la chiromanzia), tentando, fra l'altro, di inserirle nel curriculum universitario. Un ruolo importante in questa operazione culturale lo ebbe l'Achillini che cercò di definire l'oggetto della fisiognomica legandola metodologicamente alla tradizione aristotelica. Su questa linea [...] si colloca il Della Porta”. [From the High Middle Ages onwards there were attempts to legitimise physiognomy (but also other practices of divination like chiromancy) in a scientific way, trying to introduce it into the academic curriculum. Playing an important role in this operation was Achillini, who attempted to define the object of physiognomy by linking it methodologically to the Aristotelian tradition. In this line ... Della Porta is placed].

⁴⁵ See also *Lo stampatore ai lettori*: “Havendo io inteso, benigni lettori, da molti possessori di lettere, di quanta autorità e gravità sia il presente libretto, e qualmente è uscito da quell'ingegno del nobilissimo Principe de' Filosofi, Aristotele Stagirita, e da lui intitolati Problemi nei quali si scuoprono le cause di molte cose”. [I have heard, benevolent readers, through many erudite persons, how much authority and seriousness this booklet has, and it comes even from the ingenious prince of philosophers, Aristotle the Stagirite, and it was titled Problems, in which are discovered the causes of many things].

⁴⁶ Lope de Vega, *Servir a señor discreto* (1975, 219–220, vv. 1665–1670): “En Juan Tisnerio he leído / lo que de aquesto escribió, / para que sepáis que yo / también estudiante he sido, / mas no he tenido por cierta / ninguna adivinación” [In John Tisnerio I have read / what on this he wrote / may you all know that I / also a student have been / but I never had for certain / any divination].

Marquess of Valdecilla Historical Library of Complutense University (BH FLL 14738). This copy is distinguished by ‘some lines that are crossed out with black ink’⁴⁷ and two handwritten notes, one on the guard sheet that states: “Este libro es de los duplicados de la librería de S. Lor[enzo] el R[ea]l esta vendido con lic.^a de su mg. y del convento. Fr. Lucas de Alaejos” [This book is from the duplicates of the library of the Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, and is sold with the licensure of his Majesty and of the convent. Friar Lucas of Alaejos], and another on the title page that says: “mirar el índice de los libros vedaes [sic]” [see the index of the prohibited books]. Thanks to these directions, we can reconstruct the history of this book fairly well. The Hieronymite friar Lucas de Alaejos was head librarian of the Library of the Escorial, as successor to his master, Father Sigüenza⁴⁸ and as such, he obtained permission to sell the duplicated books from the library of Philip II.⁴⁹ As librarian of the Escorial, our friar was also authorised to read prohibited books from the index of Bernardo de Sandoval, published in 1612.⁵⁰ Even if the work of Jean Taisnier was not included in any index, the Hieronymite friar doubted the orthodoxy of the content, a study of hand-reading, and purged the book before wanting to sell it. The erasures allow us to see which ideas were those considered to be heterodox:

47 *Catálogo del patrimonio bibliográfico*. This copy has been digitalised by Google and is available at the following page <http://books.google.com/books?hl=es&lr=&id=APQiuPBcKwIC&oi=fnd&pg=PA9&dq=Opus+mathematicum+octo+libros+&ots=63PHYITk4R&sig=xX4BvXGbs6LOVR3b0F5XEXUiECg#v=onepage&q&f=false> (5 October 2011).

48 For Lucas de Alaejos († 1631), librarian of the Escorial of the order of Hieronymites and disciple of Arias Montano, see Antolín Pajares (1921).

49 “Para todo lo cual valió mucho su diligencia, alentada con el favor de su Mg^d., de quien también obtuvo licencia para vender muchos libros que había doblados, con que compro otros muchos nuevos y acrecentó la librería componiéndola de nuevo y haciéndoles a todos nuevo índice” (Pastor Gómez-Cornejo 2001, 294) [For all of which he greatly valued his diligence, encouraged with the favour of his Majesty, from whom he also obtained license to sell many books of which he had copies, with which he bought many other new ones and grew his book collection, creating it anew and giving them all a new index].

50 “Salió por este tiempo el nuevo expurgatorio de la inquisición, obtúvose licencia para tener aquí los libros vedados, y que los pudiesen leer el prior, el bibliotecario y los catedráticos del colegio, y para justificar más la acción hízose archivo de la inquisición en la librería alta, adonde se trujeron cantidad de libros de rabinos, mahometanos, herejes, y heresiarcas y otros prohibidos” (Pastor Gómez-Cornejo 2001, 294) [The new expurgatory index of the Inquisition was released at this time, he was given license to hold onto prohibited books, that the prior, the librarian, and the professors of the college may read, and to further justify the action, he made an archive of the Inquisition in the upper section of the bookstore, to which they brought a number of books by rabbis, Muslims, heretics, and heresiarchs, and other prohibited books]. For the Sandoval Index see Reusch (1883–1885, 42–4) and for the indexes after the seventeenth century see Martínez de Bujanda and Richter (2002).

~~De quo vniversali diluuiio Moses Propheta loquet praemisit causam quae Mathematicis rationibus etiam facillime calculari potest ex stellarum influxu, aspectu, coniunctionibus diuersis (teste Albumasare) praesertim ex maxima coniunctione Saturni & Iouis, in Cancro, signo aequo, in imo caeli constitutorum, quae contigit annis Romanis 279. Diebus 248. Horis 9 ante ipsum diluuium ex qua & praesenti figura & coeli themate, & syderum constellatione facile licuit calculi ratione siue Arithmetica supputatione, et thema coeli principij mundi erigere cuius ignorantes, non facile fidem adhibebunt, ideo libuit hic vtrumque thema Mathematico & Arithmetico calculo supputata ad maiorem elucidationem apponere. Sed vnde effluxit redeat oratio, ad Noam patrem illum multarum gentium qui caldeos & Aegyptios aequo doctos fecit, nec minus et nos per hanc quam Theologiam natu[ralem].⁵¹~~

~~[The cause of the Deluge was anticipated by the prophet Moses. It can be calculated as well very easily from the influence of the stars, their aspect and the different conjunctions (as Albumasar testifies), very specially from the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer, a water sign, constituted in the highest part of heaven, that happened 279 Roman years, 248 days and 9 hours before the very Deluge. From this, by means of the present figure, the horoscope and the constellation of the stars, it was possible without difficulty to stipulate through the reasoning of calculation and arithmetic computation the horoscope of the origin of the world. This is not believed by those who ignore it, and, therefore, we decided for elucidation to include both horoscopes, calculated by means of arithmetic and mathematical calculation. But from here the discourse went astray and we have to come back to our purpose, that is to Noah, father of many people, who made erudite the Chaldeans and the Egyptians, and not least ourselves by means of natural theology.]~~

As we can appreciate, crossed out on the page before us is the paragraph that explained how, through mathematical calculations, it is possible to draw conclusions about the future, focusing on the stars and on planetary conjunctions, quoting, on top of that, the Persian astrologer Albumasar as an authority in these matters.

* * *

If, as we have seen, the catalogue of compiled authors isn't entirely logical, it also stands out for its absence when considering the true reach of Inquisitional condemnations. Let us think, for example, about the great success of the *Examen de ingenios*⁵² which we can document, starting from the study of inventories, in many private libraries in Spain.⁵³ But other, far more problematic texts ranked

⁵¹ Taisnier (1562, 1).

⁵² We find the *Examen de ingenios* by Huarte de San Juan, which enjoyed great success among Spanish readers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, e.g., in the library of Pedro Fajardo y Córdoba (1530/31–1579), third marquess of the Vélez, studied by Bouza (1987). The work of Huarte de San Juan is under N^o 375 of the inventory.

⁵³ In relation to the study of private libraries, the pioneering article by Huarte Mortón (1955) is still of great interest. To this day, the number of Hispanic inventories published between the fif-

among the collections of institutions like the Colegio Mayor de Cuenca in Salamanca,⁵⁴ which possessed prohibited books like the *Introductiones apotelesmaticae in physiognomiam* by Ioannis ab Indagine.⁵⁵ Another copy of the physiognomic and chiromantic manual by this German author was kept in the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé,⁵⁶ inheritor of all books “tocantes a la profesión y ciencia de astrología e cosmografía”⁵⁷ [touching on the profession and science of as-

teenth and seventeenth centuries is enormous. To complete the bibliography on the transcribed inventories, one must consult the lists in Laspéras (1980) and Dadson (1998, 516–529). For better understanding of the absence of some kinds of books in testamentary inventories, the article of Infantes (1997) is fundamental.

54 It concerns one of the four Colegios mayores of Salamanca that was founded in 1500 by Diego Ramírez de Fuenleal or de Villaescusa (1459–1537); see the monograph of Carabias Torres, who observes about the College library: “De ahí que tuvieran un especial cuidado con la organización y conservación de la biblioteca; y ello, porque los consideraban como un eficaz medio de adquirir conocimientos. [...] Lo primero que llama la atención es la gran cantidad de libros que hay en su biblioteca [...] Las características que la diferencian de la de San Bartolomé es la ausencia de las grandes obras de la ciencia escolástica, un cierto número de obras de astronomía y otro tanto de textos médicos, predominando los tratados en lengua vulgar” (1983, 145–146) [For this reason they had special care with the organisation and preservation of the library; and this, because they considered them to be an efficacious way of acquiring knowledge ... The characteristics that distinguish it from the library of Saint Bartholomew is the absence of great works of scholastic science, a certain number of works on astronomy, and another quantity of medical texts, treatises predominantly in the vernacular]. See also the conclusions: “En la práctica, su espíritu conservador y tradicionalista en relación con el mantenimiento del orden establecido, hacía inútil para el progreso científico y técnico del mismo, la existencia dentro de su biblioteca de la últimas obras científicas que en Europa ya levantaban polémica” (1983, 177–178) [In practice, his conservative and traditionalist spirit in relation to the maintainence of the established order, made, in his library, the existence of the latest scientific works, already controversial in Europe, useless for scientific and technical progress].

55 Ioannis ab Indagine. *Introductiones apotelesmaticae in physiognomiam, complexiones hominum, astrologiam naturalem, naturas planetarum cum periaxiomatibus de faciebus signorum et canonibus de aegritudinibus hominum omnia nusquam fere ejusmodi tractata compendio*. Strasbourg: Heirs of Lazarus Zetzner, 1630. BG/38388.

56 See the copy with shelfmark BG/36593(2) of *Chiromantia: 1 Physiognomia ex aspectu membrorum hominis. 2 Periaxiomata de faciebus signorum. 3 Canones astrologici de iudiciis aegritudinum. 4 Astrologia naturalis. 5 Complexionum noticia juxta dominium planetarum*. Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1534.

57 I quote the transcription of the will and testament preserved in the Diocesan Archive of Cuenca (Manuscript collection L 32b, fol. 52r) by Castrillo González (2007, 151). For Eustaquio Muñoz and his interest in books, see also Castrillo González, who compiles a series of interesting facts, for example that the canon of Cuenca receives “libros del extranjero: en 1508 y 1509 le traen de Roma ‘el Bartholomeo Clochites’ y el ‘equatorio de Camillo’” (2004, 686) [books from abroad: in 1508 and 1509 they bring him from Rome “el Bartholomeo Clochites” and “equatorio de Camillo”].

tology and cosmography] of Eustaquio Muñoz (1469–1546). This priest from Cuenca was, according to Castrillo González, a “lector que no firma pero deja tantas huellas en sus libros que los hacen inconfundibles, por la cantidad y el tipo de anotaciones y por otras intervenciones relacionadas con sus hábitos de lectura, a los que debemos frecuentes sorpresas”⁵⁸ [a reader who does not sign, but does leave considerable vestiges in his books which make them unmistakable, because of the number and type of annotations and other interventions related to his reading habits, and to which we owe frequent surprises]. This may be due to the condemnation of the book in the Valdés index, thanks to which nearly all the pages of the book were destroyed with a knife, removing it this way from the factitious volume in which it was bound.⁵⁹ Because of this, only the final page and part of the interior margin are still preserved. On said page and on the title page of the book bound below, we find valuable information on the circulation of this kind of work. The first owner, Eustaquio Muñoz, noted that he had bought three printed books in different German cities from one Wilhelm, native of Germany: “Conpluti die 16 marcij anno 1535 a Guillermo alemano p[re]cio 102”. We are possibly dealing with one of these traveling, and perhaps even ‘ignorant’, booksellers, like the one who – according to Francisco Rico – could have been the owner of the bookstore of Barcarrota.

Apparently, there was no difficulty in buying books of problematic content since they appear in many private libraries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose owners disregard the Inquisition’s prohibition of books, even though they knew very well which works were condemned.⁶⁰ Of notable signifi-

⁵⁸ Castrillo González (2007, 151).

⁵⁹ The work of Indagine was bound with the works of Petrus Apianus: *Instrumentum primi mobilis*. Nürnberg: Johann Petreius, 1534 and the *Horoscopion*. Ingolstadt: s.t., 1533. See also Castrillo González (2004).

⁶⁰ Rojo Vega (1989, 40): “El problema es que un *índice* no es otra cosa que una relación de títulos y nombres, que simplemente muestra las intenciones concretas de los censores en un momento dado. La interrogante es hasta qué punto la publicación de los *índices* anuló de forma efectiva la circulación de las obras, autores e ideas más o menos perseguidos. La respuesta no puede hallarse sino en fuentes documentales de la vida cotidiana española del siglo XVI, como son los protocolos o escrituras notariales, con su carga de inventarios de depósitos de librería, de bibliotecas particulares y de relaciones de libros importados, en el caso de Medina del Campo. El examen de una serie de bibliotecas particulares vallisoletanas nos muestra rápidamente la presencia de libros vedados” [The problem is that an *index* is nothing more than a list of titles and names, which simply shows the specific intentions of the censors at a given moment. The question is the extent to which the publication of the *indexes* effectively annulled the circulation of the works, authors and ideas more or less persecuted. The response can only be found in document sources of daily Spanish life in the sixteenth century, as notarial protocols or writings are, with their load of inventories of bookstores, of private libraries and of lists of im-

cance is the case of one Sebastián de Salinas, in whose inventory of goods in 1572, transcribed by Anastasio Rojo Vega,⁶¹ are compiled some books that are flagged as prohibited works, e.g., the *Castigationes plurimorum ex Terentio Locorum* by Johannes Rivius and a work by the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf:

243. Castigationes jo Rivi in Terentium (está prohibido, ojo) [attention, it is prohibited].⁶²

409. Gnomologie Hiernonimi Buolphi (ojo) [pay attention].⁶³

This practice of annotation is not applied, for example, to the works of Erasmus,⁶⁴ to the effect that we also cannot know if the only physiognomic work in the library was considered problematic:

383. Phisygnomia Scoli in 8.

This probably involves a bad transcription of the name of Michael Scott, author of the *Liber Physiognomiae* (1235), which enjoyed great success in print in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries starting from the Venetian *princeps* of 1477, printed by Jacopo da Fivizzano.

As the example of Sebastián de Salinas shows, the study of inventories and testaments allows us to determine the circulation of physiognomic and chiro-mantic works, condemned or not by the indexes, in Golden Age Spain, and to

ported books, in the case of Medina del Campo. The examination of a series of private libraries in Valladolid quickly shows us the presence of forbidden books].

61 The inventory is found in the A.H.P.V. protocols, leg. 296, page 625 and was transcribed by Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Humanistas del Siglo de Oro: Sebastián de Salinas” [Humanists of the Gold Age: Sebastian of Salinas], accessible online on the author’s page: http://anastasiorojovega.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=241:humanistas-del-siglo-de-oro-sebastian-de-salinas-&catid=6:siglo-de-oro&Itemid=9 (1 February 2014).

62 See Martínez de Bujanda (1984, 385): “251 Ioannis Rivii, omnes libri”; Johannes Rivius (1500–1553) is an “auteur condamné: Venezia, 1554, 329; Roma, 1559, 556”. The complete title of the work is: Johannes Rivius. *Castigationes plurimorum ex Terentio Locorum*. Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe, 1534.

63 This concerns a work by the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), whose *opera omnia* were in the Spanish index of 1583. See Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 362), who also recalls the condemnation of the author in the Roman index of 1564 and his inclusion in the “list of heresiarchs”.

64 In the inventory there appear the following works by the Dutch author: “12. Epistole aliquot Erasmi”, “73. Adagia Erasmi q grype”, “79. Adagia Erasmi q frovens”, “288. Catalogus opera Herasmi”, “298. Epinition leoncali et sintaxis Erasmi”, “352. Annotationes Erasmi on novum testamentum” “380. Sintaxis Erasmi in 8” and “449. Antibarbarorum Erasmi in 8”.

know also what kind of reader was dedicated to reading physiognomic and chiromantic works. I will discuss a few examples in chronological order:

1556: According to his testament of 1556, the Jesuit Bishop of Calahorra, Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco (1495 – 1556), possessed a copy of the aforementioned chiromantic manual by Ioannis ab Indagine.⁶⁵

1573 [A] /1593 [B] Alonso Perálvarez Osorio, the bibliophile Marquess of Astorga (died in 1592), preserved in his extensive library a copy of the French translation of the chiromantic manual of Tricassio⁶⁶ as well as a Spanish translation of *Il libro del perché*⁶⁷ by Girolamo Manfredi.

1576: Bartolomé Barrientos (ca. 1520 – 1576), professor of liberal arts in Salamanca, had a good number of books about astrology and also works by the Belgian Jean Taisnier.⁶⁸ The Salamancan professor had a reputation as a chiroman-

65 For the library of the canon, see Marín Martínez (1952) and (1954, 67): “Indagine, Juan de Chiromantia (n. 159). No he podido identificar la obra” [I was unable to identify the work].

66 Cátedra (2002, 390): “[A669] *La quiromancia de Patricio en francés*. ¿B588? Patricio Tricasso, *La chiromancie de Patrice Tricasse des Ceresars*... París: P. Drouart, 1546. In-8º (Brunet, V, col. 945. Hay ediciones posteriores y seguramente anteriores” [There are later editions and probably prior ones]. See also Cátedra (2002, 491): “[B588] *Otro intitulado la quiromancia del Tircaso*. Aunque podría ser el mismo ejemplar de la versión francesa de este tratado, el título recuerda el de las versiones italianas: *Chyromantia del Tricasso*... Venecia. Piero Romano della Serena. 1535. In-8º. Hay también edición del texto en castellano, impresa en Lyon por los Junta, s.i.t., de la que prepara edición y estudio M.ª Isabel Hernández González” [(B588) Another titled *Chyromantia del Tricasso*. Although it could be the same copy of the French version of this treatise, the title is reminiscent of the Italian versions: *Chyromantia del Tricasso* ... Venice. Piero Romano della Serena. 1535. In-8º. There is also an edition in Spanish, printed in Lyon by the Giunta, s.i.t., of which M.ª Isabel Hernández González prepares an edition and study]. The known details surrounding the “biografía más innecesaria que imposible” (2002, 15) [more unnecessary than impossible biography] of the Marquess contains the monograph of Cátedra.

67 Cátedra (2002, 268–269): “[A119] El porqué, traducido de toscano en castellano. [...] Girolamo Manfredi (trad. Pedro de Ribas), *Libro llamado el porque, provechosísimo para la conservación de la salud, y para conocer la fisionomía, y las virtudes de las yerbas. Traducido de toscano en lengua castellana*... Zaragoza: Juan Millán, 1567”. [(A119) *El porqué*, translated from Tuscan to Spanish ... Girolamo Manfredi (trans. Peter of Ribas), *Book Called the Reason, Beneficial for the Preservation of Health, and to Understand Physiognomy, and the Merits of Herbs. Translated from Tuscan to the Spanish Language*... Saragossa, John Millán, 1567]. The marquess of Astorga also had in his library the *Reprobación de la astrología judiciaria o divinatoria, sacada de toscano en lengua castellana* (*Reproof of Predictive or Divinatory Astrology, in the Spanish language taken from Tuscan*) by Girolamo Savonarola, see Cátedra (2002, 285): “[A189] *Reprobación de la astrología judiciaria o divinatoria, sacada de toscano en lengua castellana*”.

68 See Nº 210, “Joannis Taisnier” in the inventory transcribed by Gagliardi (2007, 33) who comments: “Qualquier obra del erudito belga Jean Taisnier, por exemplo *De mathematicae quattuor quantitatum utilitate libellus*” [Any work by the erudite Belgian Jean Taisnier, for example *De mathematicae quattuor quantitatum utilitate libellus*]. In light of the Salamantinian professor’s

tic,⁶⁹ according to the testimony of the sorcerer of Toledo Amador de Velasco, who was prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1576. On this occasion he maintained that “había en España más de diez mil conocedores de la quiromancia” [there were more than ten thousand connoisseurs of chiromancy in Spain] and among them “el maestro Barrientos, que tenía aguas, licores y libros de todas partes, del cual se decía que miraba los hurtos en un espejo o en un caldero de agua y que había hecho unos sigilos para que los aguadores no pasaran por su calle, a pesar de todo lo cual nunca fue penitenciado por la Inquisición, ni en público ni en secreto”⁷⁰ [Master Barrientos, who had waters, liqueurs, and books everywhere, of whom it was said that he looked at stolen goods in a mirror or a cauldron and who had written some magical symbols so that water carriers would not turn down his street, despite all of which he was never forced to penitence by the Inquisition, either in public or in secret].

1595: The poet Luis Barahona de Soto (1548–1595) possessed, in addition to the aforementioned works of Taisnier,⁷¹ “Otro libro de quiromancia del mantuanano”⁷² [Another book of chiromancy by the Mantuan], which we can easily identify with the *Chyromantia* of Tricasso da Ceresari from Mantua.

inclinations I propose to identify the work of Taisnier in his possession with the *Opus mathematicum octo libros complectens: innumeris propemodum figuris idealibus manuum et physiognomiae* (Köln: Johann Birckmann, 1562). It is possible that Pedro Juan de Lastanosa also kept works by the Belgian in his library, see Álvarez and Bouza (1983, 169): “otro libro pequeno de a cuar- /to de papel en latín que tiene / por título taysmyer de manete / encuadernado en pargamino” [another small book in quarto made of paper in Latin that has / as a title *taysmyer de manete* / bound in parchment], and (1983, 153): “otro cuaderno del mismo tama- /no que tiene por título joanys / tasnyes” [another booklet of the same si / ze that has as a title *joanys / tasnyes*].

69 For the biography of this humanist, born in 1520 in Granada, and died in February of 1576, see the introduction to the article by Gagliardi (2007, 1–9). I must emphasise that he was arrested by the Inquisition in 1572, a fact which Gagliardi explains with ‘his magical-astrological hobbies’ (2007, 9).

70 See Cirac Estopañán (1942), the chapter “El licenciado Velasco y su recetario mágico” [The Graduate Velasco and His Magic Spell Book] in Caro Baroja (1990, 287–333), Gagliardi (2007, 9) as well as the chapter “Amador de Velasco – El maestro de brujos” [Amador of Velasco – the Master of Sorcerers], in Rey Bueno (2007, 9–34).

71 The transcription of the inventory was carried out by Rodríguez Marín (1903), who also identifies the work with the entry N^o 19 “Otro libro de matemáticas de Juan Tahenerio (Al margen: lo lleuo ju.o de herr.a)” [Another book of mathematics by John Tahenerio (in the margin: it was brought by ju.o de herr.a)] as: “Es Taisnerio (Jean Taisnier), *Opus mathematicum* (Colonia 1562)- en fol.”. Recent studies like that of Ganelin (2000) show how the author of *Las lágrimas de Ángelica* was helped by scientific books, present in his library, for literary creation.

72 Compiled by Rodríguez Marín (1903, 542) with N^o 293 of the inventory. The researcher, who at the time did not have the tools that we have today, could not identify the book and asks: “¿la de

1598: In the testamentary inventory of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) we find the entry, transcribed by Rodríguez-Moñino: “La fisonomía de Cocles (Cortes?) con la quiromancia de Diandro”⁷³ [The physiognomy of Cocles (Cortes?) with the chiromancy of Diandro]. It does not refer to, as the eminent bibliophile suspects, the physiognomic work of Jerónimo Cortés, *Libro de fisonomía natural* of 1598, but rather the work of Bartolomeo della Rocca, called Cocles, which was published throughout the sixteenth century in Latin and in French and German translations along with the chiromantic writings of Andrea Corvo (Diandro?). Cocles is an author who was condemned not only by the Spanish indexes of 1559 and 1583, but also by the indexes of Rome, 1559, and Venice, 1554.

1618: Another very interesting case for our purposes, in the seventeenth century is that of Francisco Martínez Polo, died in 1618, professor of medicine in Valladolid, poet and owner of an impressive library whose inventory forms part of his will and testament, drafted on 15th of June, 1618 and transcribed by Rojo Vega in the Provincial Historical Archive of Valladolid.⁷⁴ In addition to numerous works by Erasmus, as a point interpreted by Rojo Vega as a sign of the little attention that the bibliophile doctor paid to the restrictions of the Inquisition, Francisco Martínez Polo possessed an entire series of physiognomic works,⁷⁵

Juan Taisnier (Taisnerus), que fue maestro de los pajes del emperador Carlos V?” [the one of Taisnerus, who was the master of the pages of Emperor Charles V?].

73 Rodríguez Moñino (1928, 570).

74 A.H.P.V. protocols, leg. 1.629, s.f. 1318. Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Francisco Martínez Polo (†1618): médico-poeta. Poesías y biblioteca de Francisco Martínez Polo, catedrático de Prima de Medicina en Valladolid” [Francisco Martínez Polo (†1618): physician and poet. Poetries and library of Francisco Martínez Polo, First professor of medicine in Valladolid], accessible online on the author’s page: http://anastasiorojovega.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=195:francisco-martinez-polo-1618-medico-poeta&catid=3:historia-de-la-medicina&Itemid=6 (2 October 2011). This inventory distinguishes books with regard to their topic, the majority being ‘books of medicine’, but there are also books on different subjects, and regarding their format (folio, quarto, etc.), with which it provides a basis for researchers to be able to identify the editions that the doctor of Valladolid probably possessed.

75 Among the “Libros de medicina de a cuarto” [Books of medicine, in quarto] under N^o 400 we find the entry “secretos de cortes”, which remits to Jerome Cortés, *Book of Natural Physiognomy, and Various Secrets of Nature*. The editions of this text were usually printed in an octavo format: e.g., Valencia: Crystostomo Garrez, 1598; Tarragona: [s.t.], 1609 and Perpignan: B. Mas, 1610. A copy of this book was also found in the library of Hernando de Cangas, see the inventory in Rojo Vega (1998, 247, N^o 48): “Cortés, Jerónimo, Phisionomía y varios secretos de naturaleza (dos libros)”. In the section of the “Libros de varia erudicion de a 4^o” [Books about different subjects, in quarto] under N^o 889 we find another “phisionomia” with no other indications. Although it seems impossible to identify this book, it could have been the *Liber phisionomie* [...] *magister Michael Scotus* of which there exist many editions spanning the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, of which many are in quarto format.

some of which were condemned, like the *Examen de ingenios* of Huarte de San Juan,⁷⁶ of which he had two different editions, or the works of the Italian physician Girolamo Cardano.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Martínez Polo possessed an ample collection of works by Giovanni Battista Della Porta, all inventoried as “Libros de medicina de a cuarto” [Books of Medicine in quarto format]:

- 278. porta phisogn^a.
- 279. phisionomia del mesmo.
- 456. secretos del porta.

The indication of the format allows us to identify the physiognomic works either with the Italian translation *Della fisionomia dell’uomo*, or with the *Coelestis physiognomoniae libri sex*, which was published just as much in the original Latin as in the Italian translation in the quarto format.⁷⁸ The third entry can be identified with the Italian translation of the chastised edition by the same author of the *Magia naturalis*,⁷⁹ which was published after 1611 with the title *Della Magia naturale [...] con la gionta d’infiniti altri secreti*.⁸⁰

The study of the inventories of private libraries demonstrates that there was a good deal of interest in the occult sciences among readers of different social backgrounds and different levels of education. Even prior to reviewing more inventories and consulting more copies of chiromantic and physiognomic manuals, I venture to conclude that this conflictive knowledge, which occupied an important place in the scientific and cultural system of the Renaissance, has

76 It is noteworthy that a copy would be created among the “Libros de medicina de a cuarto” [Books of medicine, in quarto] (“326. examen de ingenios”) and the other with N° 926 among the “Libros de varia erudición de a 8^o” [Books about different subjects, in octavo].

77 This concerns entries with the numbers 215 (“cardano de sapiençoa [i.e. *De sapientia*]”), 364 (“método de cardano”) and 484 (“contradict.es de cardano [i.ed. *Contradicentium medicorum*]”).

78 Many editions of the physiognomic works of Della Porta are published in folio (*Phytognomonica octo libris contenta*. Napoli: Orazio Salviani, 1583; *De humana physiognomia libri IIII*. Vico Equense: 1584; *De humana physiognomia libri IIII*. Vico Equense: Giuseppe Cacchi, 1586; *De humana physiognomia libri VI*. Napoli: Tarquinio Longo, 1599). After 1588, the editions of *Phytognomonica octo libris* (Napoli: Orazio Salviani) are printed in octavo format, as well as some German editions (*De humana physiognomia libri IIII*. Hannover: Petrus Fischer, 1593; *De humana physiognomia*. Oberursel: Rosa, 1601). The Italian translations come mostly in folio format (*Della fisionomia dell’uomo*. Napoli: Tarquinio Longo, 1598). Editions that employ the quarto format are the following: *Coelestis physiognomoniae libri sex*. Napoli: Giovanni Sottili, 1603; *Della fisionomia dell’ uomo*. Padova: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1613; *Della fisionomia dell’uomo*. Vicenza: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1515 [i.e. 1615]; *Della celeste Fisionomia libri sei*. Padova: Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1616.

79 *Magiae naturalis libri XX*. Napoli: Orazio Salviani, 1589.

80 *Della Magia natural*. Napoli: Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, 1611.

been disapproved by the Inquisition with a certain amount of tolerance, in a quite incoherent manner. When the Tridentine spirits extended, these practices were consigned more and more to a certain marginality and the increasingly perceptible circumspection among authors and readers gives proof of this evolution.

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The Precariousness of Knowing the Occult: The Problematic Status of Physiognomy

a) Physiognomy in Treatises against Superstition

Anti-superstitious discourse against the divination arts occupied a recurrent line of argumentation, from early Christian times up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is reflected not only in their approach, but also in the lists of forbidden practices. In addition to necromancy, the four elemental “mancies” are customarily condemned: geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy.¹ Nevertheless, Saint Thomas,² who in the *Summa Theologiae* (thirteenth century) collects enumerations going back to Saint Isidore,³ added spatulomancy and chiromancy,⁴ which did not appear either in *Etymologies* (seventh century) or in the *Decree of Gratian* (twelfth century), but still continue to be some of the most consistently prohibited arts. Unlike the problematic reading of hands, the interpretation of the other bodily signs, which is carried out by physiognomy, is mentioned only occasionally. In the *Summula confessorum*, also titled *De eruditione, directione, instructione simplicium confessorum*, by the Dominican Antonino Pierozzo (1389–1459), is included a list of superstitions which require interrogation of the penitent: “Item si credidit ex visionomia aut ex fato vel constellacione aut complexione hominem cogi ad bonum vel ad malum quod eciam heresis est”⁵ [It is heresy to believe that men are forced to do good or

1 Their presence in the public imagination is such that these practices will still come to characterise the evil sorceresses in Calderón, who truly appreciates the quaternary structuring of dramatic discourse in reference to the four elements; see Gernert (2017).

2 For St. Thomas’s conception of magic, see Linsenmann (2000).

3 See, among others, Harmening, (1979, 189).

4 See Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, ii, q. 95, art. 3, concerning the varieties of divination: “Si autem considerentur aliquae dispositiones figurarum in aliquibus corporibus visui occurrentes, erit alia divinationis species, nam ex lineamentis manus consideratis divinatio sumpta, *chiromantia* vocatur, quasi divinatio manus.” [If, however, the observation regards the dispositions, that occur to the eye, of figures in certain bodies, there will be another species of divination: for the divination that is taken from observing the lines of the hand is called “chiromancy,” i.e. divination of the hand (because {cheir} is the Greek for hand): while the divination which is taken from signs appearing in the shoulder-blades of an animal is called “spatulomancy”, translation by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (dhspriority.org)].

5 Klapper (1919, 65), who transcribes from a manuscript in university library of Wrocław with the signature I/F/264, from circa 1467–1471, observes: “Hast du geglaubt, daß ein Mensch durch den Bau seines Gesichtes, durch die Stellung der Gestirne oder durch den Zustand seines Körpers mit Notwendigkeit zum Guten oder zum Bösen getrieben wird. Das ist ebenfalls Ketzer-

bad things by physiognomy or by fate or constellation or complexion]. This manual of the Bishop of Florence, canonised in 1523, was widely spread through printing. From the *princeps*, written in Latin, which came off the presses of Mainz in 1468⁶ and afterwards in translations in the vernacular. Another Dominican, Laurent Pignon (circa 1368–1449), confessor to the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, writes the treatise *Contre les devineurs* (1411), which condemns chiromancy just as much as physiognomy, branding bad Christians and idolaters who desire foreknowledge of what God arranges and has ordained for each person:

En ceste erreur sont ceux qui jugent determineement des affaires des hommes par le regart qu'il ont es mains des personnes, en leur filosofie et disposicions de leur membres, disans que pour che on puet savoir au certain quele vie, quel estat les gens aront et de mort quele il morront.⁷

[In this error are those who judge the business of men by looking at their hands, at their physiognomy and the dispositions of their limbs and saying that in this way one can know for certain what kind of life and state these people will have and of what kind of death they are going to die.]

However, around this same time there appear classifications of physiognomy as a legitimate science. In an annotation to the “Prohemio” of his Spanish version of the *Aeneid* (1427–1434) Enrique de Villena proposes, in relation to the term “*scibilidades*”,⁸ a classification of the sciences which differentiates between “*las lícitas e licenciadas de usar, que son sesenta, e las cuarenta que son vedadas e supersticiosas*”⁹ [the permitted and licensed for use, of which there are sixty, and the forty that are forbidden and superstitious]. Don Enrique classifies physiognomy as the first of the sixteen sciences that come out of physics, which,

ei.” [Did you believe that a man is driven by the form of his face, by the constellation of the stars or by the state of his body to do good or evil? This is also heresy].

6 Klapper (1919, 63) counts more than twenty Latin editions and six Italian ones. A series of studies on St. Antoninus was recently published; see the conference proceedings published by Cinelli and Paoli (2012) and especially Izbicki (2012, 347–361).

7 Pignon (1997, 243); see also the editor's introduction with respect to this, Veenstra (1997, 13–14) and Véronèse (2001); and for Pignon, see Vanderjagt (1985).

8 The writer of the prologue speaks of Virgil's education, saying: “*fue bien enseñado complidamente e fecho universal en todas scibilidades*” (Villena 1989, 17) [he received a perfect education and had universal knowledge in all sciences].

9 Villena (1989, 39); see, for the classification of the sciences and the magical arts of Villena, De Nigris (1978–1979) and (1979–1980).

according to him, “es filosofía natural”¹⁰ [is natural philosophy]. As Boudet observes, “le statut de la physiognomonie a connu une nette évolution à cet égard entre le XIII^e et le XV^e siècle, mais elle n’a jamais été considérée tout à fait comme un art divinatoire”¹¹ [the status of physiognomy underwent an evolution in this regard from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, but in fact it never was considered a divinatory praxis].

This absence of condemnation of the physiognomy of the fifteenth century¹² continues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first anti-superstitious – although not widely circulated – treatise printed in Spain is the *Tratado muy sutil y bien fundado de las supersticiones y hechicerías y vanos conjuros y abusiones* [Most Subtle and Well Founded Treatise on Superstitions and Sorceries and Conceited Conjuring and Beliefs] (1529), by the theologian Martín de Castañega,¹³ in which there is not even mention of chiromancy or physiognomy.¹⁴ Neither are they prohibited in the *Reprobación de las supersticiones y hechicerías* [Reprobation of Superstition and Witchcraft], by Pedro Ciruelo, which was first published in 1538 and continued to be a reference guide in the seventeenth century; in this work, which employs the typical medieval listings, the master from Daroca ignores physiognomy, but explains in great detail the punishment for chiromancy.¹⁵

A work that is not normally included in the canon of anti-superstitious treatises of the sixteenth century is the *Christianae paraenesis sive de recta in Deum fide* [Christian admonition or about the correct belief in God] (1565) by Miguel de

10 Villena (1989, 40); the other fifteen are “meteora, gramática, lógica, dialéctica, retórica, geometría, aritmética, música, perspectiva, astronomía, astrología, pensaria, mutatoria, dispositoria, estratagémata” (Villena 1989, 40) [meteorology, grammar, logic, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, music, perspective, astronomy, astrology, thought, transformation, disposition, ruse of war].

11 Boudet (2006, 28, note 60).

12 Lope de Barrientos does not talk about physiognomy, but he forbids chiromancy and other kinds of divination: “Quinta parte principal d’este tractado. De las diversas especies e maneras del divinar” (Barrientos 1992, 215) [Fifth Principal Part of this Treatise. On the Diverse Varieties and Forms of Divination]; see Gernert (2015).

13 See, for the scant information on his life, Zamora Calvo (2014b, 186–187); for the sources of Castañega, see Granjel (1953, 16).

14 See, for the scant influence of his treatise alongside Ciruelo’s, Tausiet Carlés (1992, 140).

15 Regarding this, see also Ebersole (1962, 433), who suspects “que Ciruelo cree necesario describir y reprobar [la quiromancia] con mayor detalle, porque la gente tenía [...] más fe en esta arte de leer las rayas de la mano” [that Ciruelo thinks it necessary to describe and condemn (chiromancy) with great detail, because people had ... more faith in this art of reading the lines of the hands].

Medina¹⁶, a work “dedicada y compuesta a petición de Felipe II para defender la fe católica contra los ataques de infieles y herejes”¹⁷ [dedicated to and composed at the request of Philip II to defend the Catholic faith against attacks from infidels and heretics]. Robert S. Westman characterises the piece as “an expression of Tridentine positions”.¹⁸ The second book (“Nouem considerationes proponuntur, quibus fidei assensus in animo roboratur et augescit” [Nine considerations about how faith in the soul is strengthened and augmented]) dedicates the first chapter to prophecies (“De prophetico euentuum uaticinio”¹⁹ [About the prophetic prediction of an event]). While this is not an anti-superstitious treatise *per se*, the Franciscan deals in depth with the legality of the occult arts. In his reflections, Medina does not distinguish between physiognomy and chiromancy, and he ties them in with metoposcopy and pedomancy, which for him are conceptually identical. From the start, he describes as reckless anyone who dares to draw conclusions about the future by way of the practices mentioned:

Ergo illi, qui ex physionomica, chiromantica, metoposcopica & podomantica inspectione uaticinium profert, cum non ex nouo humorum accidenti, aut symptomate, aut ex noui languoris inuadentis incurso, aut accensione, sed ex antiqua uultus, corporis, manuum, frontis aut pedum lineatione et naturali pictura praesagiat, tantummodo in communi et in genere, aut faltem in specie uaticinari licebit et quidquid in indiuiduo signauerit, temerarium censbitur.²⁰

[Therefore, who prophesies through physiognomy, chiromancy, metoposcopy, and podomancy, since his conjecture is not based on a recent disturbance of humour or symptom, nor on the onslaught or stir of a fledgling discouragement, but on the usual features and the ordinary image of face, body, hands, forehead, or feet, he may only prophesy about the universal and the genus, at most about the species, and what he would state about an individual should be criticised as unwise.]

Next, he explains in marvellous detail how these arts function and which are the conclusions that can be drawn from bodily signs, for example, complexion and temperament, or inclinations or predispositions. In this way he speaks of the

16 For Miguel de Medina, see Vázquez Janeiro (2001, 491), who studies the inquisitorial process of the Franciscan; and recently, Westman (2011, 199): “The purpose of Medina’s dense and exhaustive tome [...] was nothing less than to define the grounds of orthodox faith. It covers all forms of divination, prophecy, and magic, with prolific citation of both modern and ancient authorities”.

17 Díaz Díaz (1995, 378).

18 Westman (2011, 199).

19 Medina (1565, 9v–36v).

20 Medina (1565, 12v).

“naturales diuinatrices artes”²¹ [natural divination arts], which he later distinguishes from astrological physiognomy, saying that it is reproachable and even ridiculous.²² After a long dissertation on how these studies relate the human body to celestial ones and interpret the microcosm as a reflection of the macrocosm, he makes it quite clear how laughable it is to believe in the possibility of foreseeing concrete future events such as marriages or military victories:

Irridendi igitur physiognomici et chiromantici uates, qui eum, qui hunc, aut illum uultum, hanc aut illam lineam fuerit a natura sortitus, hoc aut illo anno ducturum uxorem diuitem, nobilem, ac pulchram, hac aut illa dignitate donandum, foelicem futurum, et a quodam principe diligendum et honoribus cumulandum in lite uictorem, et caeteras huiusmodi naenias, quibus suorum stultorum librorum aceruos resperserunt, beatissime garriunt.²³

[So let us dismiss the physiognomic and chiromantic prophets, whose pleasant and confusing speech states that a person who has this particular face or feature will sooner or later marry a rich, noble and beautiful woman, will receive a particular position, will be blessed, that his victory in combat will earn him respect from a certain prince who will shower him with honours, and other nonsense with which their numerous and foolish books come to be filled.]

Furthermore, the dogma of man's free will is crucial to his argument,²⁴ as it conceptually invalidates all possibility of prophesy, to which he adds man's incapacity to reach and comprehend divine intentions.²⁵

Miguel de Medina's work is particularly interesting because he argues independently of the anti-superstitious tradition of the Middle Ages, and he demonstrates more clearly the predicament that befalls the divination arts in the Tridentine era. It is curious that the Quiroga Index (1583) demonstrates, conversely, a notable continuity of the medieval tradition, not only in supposing that these arts by default involve a pact with the devil, but also with concern to punishable divination practices:

Otrosí se prohíben todos los libros, tratados, cédulas, memoriales, receptas y nóminas para invocar demonios por cualquier vía y manera, ora sea por nigromancia, hidromancia, pirromancia, aeromancia, onomancia, quiromancia y geomancia [...] También se prohíben

²¹ Medina (1565, 13v).

²² Medina (1565, 13v).

²³ Medina (1565, 13v–14r).

²⁴ He participated as a representative of the University of Alcalá in the final sessions of the Council of Trent; see Díaz Díaz (1995, 377).

²⁵ “Intellectus humanus diuina uoluntatis futura non assequitur” (Medina 1565, 14r) [The will of God is out of reach of human discernment].

todos los libros, tratados y escriptos en la parte que tratan y dan reglas y hacen arte o sciencia para conocer por las estrellas y sus aspectos o por las rayas de las manos lo por venir que está en la libertad del hombre.²⁶

[Furthermore, all books, treatises, documents, memorials, receipts and lists of names to invoke demons by whatever ways and means, be it by necromancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, aeromancy, onomancy, chiromancy and geomancy are forbidden ... Also forbidden are all books, treatises and scripts any of whose parts address and offer rules and make either art or science to discover, by way of the stars and their shapes, or through the creases of the hands, the very future which is in man's free will.]

A few years after the aforementioned Index of Forbidden Books, in 1586, Pope Sixtus V forbade the exercise of judiciary astrology and other forms of divination in the papal bull *Coeli et Terrae Creator Deus*.²⁷ This sentence, drafted in Latin, was widely spread throughout Spain, in a translation to Spanish that was published as an appendix of different anti-superstitious treatises, the *Tratado de la verdadera y falsa profecía* [*Treatise on True and False Prophecy*] by Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias (1540–1608),²⁸ published in 1588, as well as later in the reprinting of the *Reprobación* by Pedro Ciruelo in 1628. The text goes back through the aforementioned Index to the medieval discourse against superstition and therefore omits physiognomy.²⁹

26 Quiroga, *Index et Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*, cited in Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 884).

27 See the papal bull *Coeli et Terrae Creator Deus* in the *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum* (1883, 646–650).

28 For his life and work, see Zafrá (2011).

29 See the text of the papal bull in Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 161r–169v) and in Ciruelo (2003, 213–220): “Y es así que por las reglas del Índice de los libros prohibidos, hecho por decreto del sagrado Concilio general de Trento . . . se les encarga a los obispos provean con diligencia que no se lean ni se tengan semejantes libros de astrología judiciaria, tratados o índices que, de los futuros contingentes, sucesos, casos fortuitos o aquellas acciones que dependen de la voluntad del hombre, osan afirmar que alguna cosa ha de ser cierta, permitiéndose los juicios y observaciones naturales que para ayudar a la navegación, agricultura o el arte de medicina se han escrito. Mas los libros todos de geomancia, hidromancia, quiromancia, nicromancia o aquellos en que se contienen sortilegios, hechicerías, agüeros, auspicios, encantaciones del arte mágica procurasen quitarlos del todo y deshacerlos” [And so it is by the rules of the Index of prohibited books, made by order of the general Council of Trent... the bishops are responsible for diligently ensuring that no one read or own such books on predictive astrology, treatises or indexes that dare to affirm having certainty about the contingent future, events, accidental cases or those actions that depend on man's will, but they may permit judgments and natural observations that, to help in navigation, agriculture, or the art of medicine, have been written. Furthermore, all books on geomancy, hydromancy, chiromancy, necromancy, or those that contain spells, sorcery, omens, portents, or incantations of magical art, must be taken out of circulation completely and shall be destroyed].

Nevertheless, the brother of the famed lexicographer, who notes in an epilogue “Al lector” [To the reader], that he had written his treatise to illustrate said papal bull,³⁰ does not limit himself to criticising chiromancy,³¹ but rather devotes two long chapters to physiognomy. In the first –“Capítulo IX. De la fisionomía y de lo que se puede alcanzar por ella” [Chapter IX. On physiognomy and what can be achieved by it] –,³² he insists on the power of man’s free will, which, just as with Socrates in the famous anecdote of the trial of Zopyrus, can defeat his inclinations:

[...] no son tan ciertas estas reglas que lo hayan de ser siempre y más en las cosas que se suelen traer por señal de vicios, estando en la elección de cada uno seguir el bien y apartarse del mal, y de otra manera mal pudiera decir el antiguo filósofo a quien las señales del rostro le condenaban por deshonesto que de aquella enfermedad la filosofía le había librado.³³

[... these rules are not so certain that they must always be, and more so in those things that are usually interpreted as a sign of vice, being in the choice of each to follow good and move away from evil, the old philosopher, in whom the signs of the face condemned him for dishonesty, could hardly say that philosophy had saved him from this debility.]

Further down, he illustrates his proposition with a great number of biblical and classical quotations, placing particular emphasis on how one can interpret the shape and size of a nose. The following chapter addresses “De lo que se puede juzgar por las señales de la fisionomía”³⁴ [what can be judged from the signs of physiognomy], beginning with an explanation which aims to be scientific and based on respectable sources:

En cuanto el hombre tiene un cuerpo formado de la masa elemental en que se hallan tan diferentes naturales, no es mucho que de esos mismos haya querido naturaleza dar señales de que se ven algunas y sin hacer más fuerza de la que habemos dicho se han conocido y se

30 “Por haber sido la presente obra como declaración de la constitución de nuestro santísimo padre Sixto V contra los que profesan la astrología judiciaria en lo que no es lícita y contra los demás que tratan de diferentes géneros de divinación y supersticiones” (Horozco y Covarrubias 1588, 154v) [For the present work having been a declaration of the constitution of our most holy father Sixtus V against those who practice judiciary astrology in that which is not lawful, and against the other works that concern different varieties of divination and superstitions].

31 See chapter 8, “De la divinación por las rayas de las manos dicha quiromancia” [On divination via the lines of the hands, said chiromancy], of Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 90v–91r), in which the history of said science is summarised.

32 Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 91v–93v).

33 Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 91v).

34 Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 93v).

conocen, en los que no saben usar de razón y si tienen señales de viciosos tienen también las obras como otros las tienen de bien acondicionados, afables y liberales y lo son. Y de lo que pudo enseñar la experiencia en esto hubo en los siglos pasados quien escribiese reglas, como fueron Aristóteles y Polemón, el retórico, y antes de ellos un médico dicho Loxo.³⁵

[Insofar as man has a body formed from the elemental clay in which are found such diverse temperaments, it is not surprising that, in these, nature wanted to give signs, some of which are visible, and without a greater effort than we have mentioned, they were detected and are detected, in those who do not know how to use reason, and if they show signs of the depraved, they also act as such, as others who show signs of good condition, affability and generosity, and they behave this way. And about what experience could teach in this, there were in prior centuries those who wrote rules, such as Aristotle and Polemon of Athens, the rhetorician, and before them a doctor named Loxus.]

It must be emphasised that Horozco y Covarrubias differentiates, just like Miguel de Medina, but without using the same terminology, between two ways of reading the body, although only the one that others call natural physiognomy is legitimate and scientifically valid.³⁶

Obviously, this review of the treatises regarding physiognomy cannot be concluded without a closer look at the Spanish Jesuit Martín Antonio del Río, born in the Netherlands,³⁷ one of the most eminent scholars in this realm.³⁸ Between 1599 and 1601,³⁹ the theologian and Doctor of Law at the University of Salamanca published the six books of his *Disquisitionum magicarum*, which appeared ten years later in the French translation by André Du Chesne with the title *Les con-*

35 Horozco y Covarrubias (1588, 93v–94r).

36 “Y sea la conclusión de esto que, en las reglas que se dicen de fisionomía, si no las entienden a más de lo que es la compostura del hombre en su complixión natural, a que suele seguir la condición y conformarse las costumbres, se puede tener por cierta en muchas cosas, lo que no es la divinación de los lunares de que hay un librito en griego y, siendo yo muchacho, le trasladé en latín, con otros versos que andan esparcidos de los sueños” (Horozco y Covarrubias 1588, 95r) [And may it be the conclusion of this that, in the rules stated on physiognomy, if they do not extend farther than man’s composure in his natural complexion, to which his condition follows in accordance with customs, it may be held as true in many things, that it is not the divination of moles that there is a booklet in Greek that I translated into Latin when I was a boy, together with other scattered verses about dreams].

37 For the life and work of Martín del Río, see Laurenti (1986), and Machielsen (2015); and for his *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* the introduction to the English translation by Maxwell-Stuart (2000); the interspersed stories have been studied by Fischer (1975), and Zamora Calvo (2014b).

38 For the editions of his work, see Caro Baroja (1968 [1997], 210 and 270, note 61), and Morgado García (1999, 14); and for his fame in Spain and in Europe, Caro Baroja (1968 [1997], 210–218).

39 The *Adversus fallaces & superstitiosas artes* by Benito Pereira, which is published shortly after, in Lyon by Horace Cardon in 1603, does not speak of the semiotic practices that interest us.

troverses et recherches magiques (1611). It is a monumental work that compiles an endless list of the strangest “mancies”. The fourth of the six books of the Jesuit’s work deals with divination, and we find two long chapters dedicated to physiognomy (“De la prénotion physiognomique. Question 4”⁴⁰ [About physiognomic prediction. Question 4]), also to metoscopy⁴¹ and chiromancy (“De la chiromantie ou divination par les lignes de la main. Question 5”⁴² [About chiromancy or divination from the lines in the palms of the hands. Question 5]). The Jesuit clearly differentiates between the work of ancient doctors, like Hippocrates and Galen, which, like Aristotle and Polemon of Athens, were interested in a “recherche de la nature”⁴³ [investigation of nature], and his contemporaries, like Cocles, Luca Gaurico, and nearly all the others, who “ont meslé beaucoup de choses superstitieuses”⁴⁴ [mixed this with many superstitious things]. Further down he details the different approaches of physiognomy in studying man in comparison to animals, provincial and national customs, questions of sex and gender, and movement as it relates to a person’s being. He concludes that this practice is legitimate as long as it is maintained within the sphere of natural philosophy: “Soit arrêté pour conclusion que la physionomie qui ne passe point les termes et limites de la philosophie naturelle est licite et contient en soi quelque vraisemblance et probabilité”⁴⁵ [As a conclusion I may say that physiognomy is licit if it does not surpass the borders of natural philosophy and if it contains some verisimilitude and probability]. The chapter ends with three conclusions: 1) the application of this “mancy” to animals produces more accurate results than when used on man, whose propensities are corrected with free will; 2) the physiogno-

40 Río (1611, 626–630).

41 Martín del Río circumscribes the field of work of metoposcopy to the analysis of the face and he distinguishes it from physiognomy, which is read in the whole body: “Il considère principalement le front et la face, d’autant que ceste partie semble estre le miroir ordinaire des vertus intellectuelles. Et lors telle prénotion est appelée *metoposcopia*, c’est à dire inspection ou considération du visage. Aristote et Polémon la confondent avecques la chiromantie, laquelle proprement s’arreste à considérer les linéaments des mains, comme certains miroirs des vertus actuelles et s’elle considère aussi le reste des membres et l’habitude de tout le corps, elle est nommée *physiognomie*.” (Río 1611, 626) [It considers mainly the front and the face, as much as this part seems to be the ordinary mirror of intellectual virtues. And such divination is called metoposcopy, and this means inspection or consideration of the face. Aristotle and Polemon mistake it for palmistry, that properly considers the lines of the hand as a certain mirror of virtues; and if it looks as well on the rest of the limbs and on the habit of the body it is called physiognomy].

42 Río (1611, 630–638).

43 Río (1611, 626).

44 Río (1611, 627).

45 Río (1611, 628).

mist must judge exclusively the inclinations of man toward immoral habits like, for example, greed or lust; 3) he is not allowed to speak of the “dons divins et gratuits, pour ce que Dieu les distribue à chacun comme il lui plaist” [divine and gratuitous gifts since God distributes them to everybody as he wants to] nor of “ce qui est du tout extrinsèque à l’homme”⁴⁶ [what is extrinsic to mankind], which is to say, of unpredictable future events, such as a violent death.

b) The censoring of physiognomic works

As a matter of fact, it is clear that from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century, physiognomy has a curious status, which prevents it from being patently classified as a suspicious practice. The study of surviving copies in Spain of some physiognomic studies shows us to what extent some readers distrusted the orthodoxy of the manuals that they had in their libraries and which were the strategies to eliminate dissent.⁴⁷

c) Michael Scott and medieval medicine

The Scottish scholar Michael Scott wrote in the court of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen a treatise that links physiognomy with the theory of complexions.⁴⁸ His *Liber physiognomiae* (after 1228) was published on repeated occasions starting from the *editio princeps* (Venice: Jacopo da Fivizzano, 1477).⁴⁹ The Spanish translation⁵⁰ of the treatise was circulated in print shortly after the Latin original: it was published as part of the *Compendio de la salud humana* [*Compendium of*

⁴⁶ Río (1611, 629).

⁴⁷ See the collective volume on *Lectura y culpa en el siglo xvi* [Reading and guilt in the sixteenth century], edited by Vega Ramos and Nakládalová (2012), as well as Vega Ramos (2016).

⁴⁸ See Ziegler (2004).

⁴⁹ The only known copy of the *princeps* in Spain is held in the Royal Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, with the catalogue number 40–v–52 (2.^o), with handwritten notes in the margins; a digital copy is available for researchers thanks to the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/bsb00056672/image_1) (7 March 2019). There are many reprints in different European cities, above all in Germany and Italy, for example in 1478, 1483, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1489, 1490, 1500, 1503, 1505, 1508, 1519, 1537 and 1547, nearly all available in digital format. There is no modern edition of the Latin text, but one can find an entire series of studies, like those of Jacquart (1994); Agrimi (2002, 5 and 22–29); and Ziegler (2008).

⁵⁰ The Spanish version has been edited by Sánchez González de Herrero and Vázquez de Benito (2009).

human health] by Johannes of Ketham in 1494. Another indication of the vast spreading of his theories in Spain is the fact that Jerónimo Cortés, author of the *Libro de fisonomía natural y varios secretos de naturaleza* (1599), based his exposition of the reading of bodily signs on the Scotsman's book.

One copy of the *editio princeps* of the Spanish translation, preserved in the Spanish National Library,⁵¹ contains multiple handwritten annotations, scripted by multiple hands. In the upper portion of the title page it reads (the brown colour is typical of the oxidation of iron gall ink): “Reconocido y aprouado por el Ldo. Pe. frai Xabierri, fraile de Santo Domingo en predicadores en Çaragoça año 79” [Recognised and approved by Grad. Pe. Frai Xabierri, friar of the monastery of Santo Domingo de Predicadores in Saragossa, year 97]. A second hand notes: “Este libro es de Bernabé Martín, cirujano de la ciudad de Daroca. Costó 10 reales”⁵² [This book is by Bernabé Martín, surgeon of the city of Daroca. It cost 10 reales]. The censor is none other than Jerónimo Xavierre, O. P. (1546–1608), first professor of theology at the University of Saragossa, official Confessor to Philip II, general of his order and cardinal. According to the documentation gathered by Echarte, around 1576 “aparece su nombre en las listas de predicadores de Zaragoza como lector” [his name appears in the lists of preachers of Saragossa as a reader], and this teaching experience must have qualified him so that the “Capítulo Provincial de Tarragona de 1579 le conceda el grado de presentado en Teología”⁵³ [Provincial Chapter of Tarragona of 1579 bestows on him the degree of bachelor of theology]. One can imagine that this young and certainly ambitious Dominican would not take lightly the task of reviewing potentially dangerous books, especially when he signed the approval with his full name. As usual, the changing criteria of censorship forbade a book of medicine and physiognomy that our Dominican had authorised, but it is also prohibited in the *Suplemento al Índice expurgatorio del año de 1790* [Supplement to the Expurgatory Index of the year 1790] (1805): “*Physiognomia Michaelis Scoti*: librito así titulado. Edicto 6 de abril de 1799”⁵⁴ [*Physiognomia of Michael Scott*: booklet thus titled. Edict of the 6th of April 1799].

51 [Michael Scott]. “Síguese el tractado VIII de la phisonomía: en breue summa contenida.” In: John of Ketham, *Compendio de la salud humana*. Zaragoza: Pablo Hurus, 15 VIII, 1494. 48v–63v. This copy, with the catalogue number INC/51, is available in the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000052266>) (7 March 2019).

52 Furthermore, two medical prescriptions are noted on the title page, and another at the end of the work ‘in writing from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries’ (Martín Abad 2010, I, 468).

53 Echarte (1981, 155).

54 *Suplemento al Índice expurgatorio del año de 1790* (1805, 43).

In the National Library of Madrid is preserved another copy of the *Liber physiognomiae*,⁵⁵ in whose title page is noted: “Proh.^o en ed.^o de abril / de 1799, n.^o 13” [Prohibited in edict of April, 1799, no. 13]. This copy shows interesting interventions from a censor who might be identical with the one who noted in the flyleaf that the Scotsman’s book was prohibited by the edict of the Inquisition on 6 April 1799. The last lines of chapter XVIII are crossed out (“Signa probalia quibus ad oculum et intellectus scitur an mulier sit grauida masculo vel femella” [probable signs that show to the eyes and the mind if a woman is pregnant with a boy or a girl]), which speaks of the possibility of discovering in a pregnant woman’s hand the sex of the fruit of her womb:

In chiromantia est istud experimentum factibi ostende vnam manum a grauida quam volueris et tu considera manum et eius monstrum, quae si fuerit dextra, est signum maris, et si sinistra, est signum foemella concepta. (fol. B [VI]–V)

[Chiromancy considers the following experience: take one hand of the pregnant woman in question, then study the hand and its unusual size: should the right hand be swollen, then it will be a sign that she is expecting a boy; should the left one be, then she is expecting a girl.]

Additionally, chapter XLV was censored (“De notitia nimie abundantie humorum per somnia”, fol. C[VI]r–v [Notice on the excessive abundance of humours through dreams]), and in the right margin, it reads: “Doctrina omnino superstit[i]osa ideoque contem[ne]nda” [Entirely superstitious doctrine and therefore to be condemned]. Because it was “doc[t]rina similiter superstitiosa” [doctrine resembling superstition], according to the handwritten annotation, chapter XLVI was also eliminated (“De notitia augurorum”, fol. C [VII]r–v [Notice on diviners]), as was chapter XLVII (“De notitia sternutationis”, fol. C [VII]v–C[VIII]v [Notice on sneezing]), explaining the motive of the sanction: “Superstitiosa sunt quaeque haec omnia” [Superstitious are all of them here]. The anon-

55 This concerns a copy, with the shelfmark 2/61784, of a fairly rare edition, without typographical signs of any kind, probably published at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with a woodcut on the title page that shows an astrologer looking at the stars from his work table and with the large title *Phisionomia Michaelis Scoti. Excellentissimi rerum naturalium perscrutatoris magistri Michaelis Scoti Phisionomia multa continens capitula: in quibus membrorum signa continentur que vt varia et multiplicia sunt: ita variam et multiplicem hominum naturam et complexionem demonstrant* [The book of physiognomy of Michael Scott. As a very excellent and thorough investigation of natural things the book of physiognomy of Michael Scott contains many chapters, in which are contained the signs of the limbs, that are various and manifold; in this manner they demonstrate the various and manifold nature and complexion of mankind]. Google has digitalised the copy from the British Library: (<https://goo.gl/9KD6Kw>) (7 March 2019).

ymous passage is purged in accordance with rule IX of the *Índice último de los libros prohibidos y mandados expurgar* [Final Index of Forbidden Books Under Order of Expurgation] (1790), by Agustín Rubín de Cevallos, which prohibits all books on the different divination arts.⁵⁶ The annoyance of eighteenth-century censors with the medieval doctor's booklet is an indication of the lasting success of the Scotsman's ideas.

d) Giovanni Battista Della Porta and the control of images

The natural philosopher Giovanni Battista Della Porta (1535–1615) is the author of two physiognomic studies, published in Latin and in Italian: *De humana physiognomonia* (1586, Italian translation of 1598) and *Coelestis physiognomoniae* (1603, Italian translation of 1614). Despite having serious problems with the Inquisition in Italy,⁵⁷ his only work to be sanctioned in Spain is the *Magia naturalis* (1558), mentioned in the Quiroga Index of 1583⁵⁸ and in the expurgatory of Sarmiento y Valladares (1707).⁵⁹ In Spain a great number of copies of these manuals are preserved, documented in various private libraries.⁶⁰

From the Italian translation *Della fisionomia dell'huomo*, a copy of an edition “accresciuta di figure & di luoghi” [augmented with illustrations and content], which Giovanni Giacomo Carlino and Costantino Vitale published in Naples in 1610, is kept in Salamanca (shelfmark BG/37019). The provenance note on the title page says: “Es de la librería del Coll.^o Rl. de la Comp.^a de IHJ de Salam[an]ca ex dono fr. Gasp. Antonij ora p[ro] eo” [It is from the library of the Royal College of the Company of IHJ of Salamanca; gifted by Brother Gasp. Antonij, pray for him]. In this copy, someone went to the trouble of systematically crossing out the private parts of the human figures in the new illustrations, without going on to censor any of the text. It is noteworthy that, for exam-

⁵⁶ Rubín de Cevallos (1790, XX–XXI).

⁵⁷ For the complicated history of his relations with the Holy Office, I refer to the studies of Aquilecchia (1968), Lopez (1974), and Valente (1999) and (2016); as well as Piccari (2007), in particular chapter 3, “I rapporti con l’Inquisizione” (2007, 24–29) [The relationship with the Inquisition]; and Tarrant (2013).

⁵⁸ Quiroga, *Index et Catalogus librorum prohibitorum*, cited in Martínez de Bujanda (1993, 393–394). Apart from the classic work by Reusch (1883–1885), the most recent publication of the indexes of Martínez de Bujanda is fundamental, particularly the volumes dedicated to the Spanish Inquisition (1984), and (1993, 393–394 and 456).

⁵⁹ Sarmiento y Valladares (1707, I, 717).

⁶⁰ Gernert (2014).

ple, in chapter XXXIV of the second book, it is perfectly permissible to speak about the breast (“Delle mammelle”),⁶¹ but they hide Venus’s breasts.

e) Jean Taisnier and Free Will

In his *Christianae paraenesis sive de recta in Deum fide* (1564), Miguel de Medina includes a list of specialists in the physiognomic field, which he closes with the mention of “et omnium diligentissimus Ioannes Taisnerius”⁶² [and above all the industrious Jean Taisnier], author of a large manual on chiromancy and physiognomy titled *Opus mathematicum octo libros complectens* [*Opus about mathematics comprehended in eight books*], whose *editio princeps* was published in 1562. There were two copies of this book in the Library of the Escorial,⁶³ thus within reach of our Franciscan. Even if it wasn’t included in the index, the work awakened the suspicion of the friar of the Hieronymites Lucas de Alaejos, the librarian who worked to transfer duplicate copies from the library. He noted on the title page: “Mirar el índice de los libros vedaes [sic]” [See index of the prohibited books] and expunged the book before selling it.⁶⁴

In the dedication to the merchant and patron Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–1575), the author shows off his talents as a soothsayer. Neither this image nor the praises of judiciary astrology called the attention of the censoring friar:

Quae igitur experientia multoties didici, in lucem prodere non taeduit, naque me (salvo arrogantiae scrupulo) unquam in iudiciis fefellit hactenus opinio, nec alio iudiciario Libro, quam Ptolemaei aliquibus dictis usus sum, quibus (proh dolor) vuolentam mortem cuiusdam Serenissimi Regis prima fronte ante decennio praevideram, et quod nun infestationis in eodem Regno hoc anno et sequentibus duobus futuris superest, praevidi, sed Deus Optimus Maximus reiteratis saepe precibus invocandus est, ut sua clementia et bonitate id avertere dignetur.⁶⁵

[It does not bother me to bring to light what I have learned with repeated experience and till now (I say this without arrogance) my opinion never disappointed me in my judgments;

⁶¹ Della Porta (1610, 162).

⁶² Medina (1564, 11r).

⁶³ One of them is preserved in the Historic Library Marqués de Valdecilla of Complutense University, Madrid (BH FLL 14738), and it has a handwritten note on the title page that states: “Este libro es de los duplicados de la Librería de S. Lor[enzo] el R[ea]l está vendido con lic.^a de su mg. y del convento. Fr. Lucas de Alaejos” [This book is from the duplicates of the Library of St. Lorenzo el Real, it is sold with the license of his majesty and the convent Fr. Lucas of Alaejos]. This copy has been digitalised by Google and is available at: (<https://goo.gl/x9kX7u>) (7 March 2019).

⁶⁴ As I began to study in Gernert (2014).

⁶⁵ Taisnier (1562, XXX).

and I used no other book of judgments than some sayings of Ptolemy, thanks to which (oh, what a pain!) I clearly saw ten years in advance the violent death of a very Serene King. And I have seen the cases of annoyance that in this realm are going to take place this year and during the two following years. But I pray to the greatest and best God with repeated pleas so that with his mercy and kindness he will decide to avoid it.]

The first interventions from the friar are found in the first page of the text, after the paratexts (the dedication and laudatory poetry), where we read:

De quo universale diluvium Moses Propheta loquens praemisit causam, ~~quae Mathematicis rationibus etiam facillime calculari potest ex stellarum influxu, aspectu, coniunctionibus diversis (teste Albumasare) praesertim ex maxima coniunctione Saturni et Iovis in Cancro, signo aequo, in imo caeli constitutorum, quae contigit annis Romanis 279, diebus 248, horis 9 ante ipsum diluvium, ex qua et praesenti figura, et caeli themate et syderum constellatione facile licuit calculi ratione sive Arithmetica supputatione, et thema caeli principii mundi erigere, cuius ignorantes non facile fidem adhibebunt, ideo libuit hic utrumque thema Mathematico et Arithmetico calculo supputata ad maiorem elucidationem apponere.~~ Sed unde effluxit redeat oratio, ad Noam patrem illum multarum gentium, qui Caldeos et Aegyptios aequè doctos fecit, nec minus et nos.⁶⁶

[The cause of the ~~Deluge~~ was anticipated by the prophet Moses. It can be calculated as well very easily from the influence of the stars, their shape and the different conjunctions (as Albumasar testifies), very specially from the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Cancer, a sign of water, constituted in the highest part of heaven, that happened 279 Roman years, 248 days and 9 hours before the very Deluge. From this, by means of the present figure, the horoscope and the constellation of the stars it was possible without difficulty to stipulate through the reasoning of the calculation and the arithmetic computation the horoscope of the origin of the world. This is not believed by those who ignore it, and, therefore, we decided for elucidation to include both horoscopes, calculated by means of arithmetic and mathematical calculation. But from here the discourse drove away and we have to come back to our purpose, that is to Noah, father of many people, who made erudite the Chaldeans and the Egyptians, and not least ourselves.]

As we can see, there were no problems with foreseeing the Great Flood, with only the mathematical calculations “starting from the influence of the stars, their aspect, and different conjunctions” that go back to the Persian astrologer Albumasar (787–886) as an authority in these disputes.⁶⁷ The description of the calculations, which have been carried to their limit starting with the birth chart, was removed. Nonetheless, their illustration, as evidenced on the following page,

⁶⁶ Taisnier (1562, 1).

⁶⁷ For the reception of Albumasar in the Renaissance, see the chapter “Astrology and History: Albumasar and the *Great Conjunctions*”, in Garin (1983, 1–28).

was not,⁶⁸ nor were the author's other reflections on the various possibilities for seeing the future, although in the papal bull *Coeli et Terrae Creator Deus* human curiosity is punished:

Et in Novo Testamento Christus Dominus discipulorum suorum de futuris eventibus paullo cupidus inquiringentium interrogationem gravi illa responsione retudit, qua etiam omnium fidelium suorum curiositatem coercuit: "Non est vestrum scire tempora vel momenta, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate."⁶⁹

[And in the New Testament Jesus Christ our Lord rejected the question of his disciples, desirous of inquiring into things to come with this solemn answer, which also proscribes such curiosity on the part of all believers: It is not for you to know times or seasons that the Father has fixed by his own authority.]

It is also true that Taisnier insists on showing the compatibility between judiciary astrology and dogma: After relating an anecdote about the horoscope of Socrates that characterises him as depraved, the Belgian author insists that power of will and lifestyle had allowed the philosopher to overcome his tendencies.⁷⁰ And he concludes: "Astra etenim non cogunt, nec necessitant, sed fortiter inclinant, quorum inclinationibus fortis (ut dictum est) potestate divina tutus et libero arbitrio resistere potest"⁷¹ [And so the stars do not force nor oblige, but they incline intensely, but the strong man can resist these inclinations, as we said, imbued with the divine power of his free will]. The second erasure impacts the reflections on the birth of Christ,⁷² whose humanity made him – according to Taisnier – par-

68 Taisnier (1562, 2).

69 See the papal bull *Coeli et Terrae Creator Deus* in the *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum* (1883, 646), which cites the Acts of the Apostles 1, 7.

70 Taisnier (1562, 2–3) adapts the famous anecdote of the physiognomist Zópiro who reads the bodily signs of Socrates, as relates Cicero in the *Tusculanae disputationes*, IV, 80, and in *De fato*, V,10: "Quid? Socraten nonne legimus quem ad modum notarit Zopyrus physiognomon, qui se profitebatur hominum mores naturasque ex corpore, oculis, vultu, fronte pernoscere? stupidum esse Socraten dixit et bardum, quod iugula concava non haberet – obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat; addidit etiam mulierosum; in quo Alcibiades cachinnum dicitur sustulisse." [Again, do we not read how Socrates was stigmatized by the 'physiognomist' Zopyrus, who professed to discover men's entire characters and natures from their body, eyes, face and brow? he said that Socrates was stupid and thick-witted because he had not got hollows in the neck above the collarbone – he used to say that these portions of his anatomy were blocked and stopped up; he also added that he was addicted to women – at which Alcibiades is said to have given a loud guffaw! Translation Rackham (1942) (http://www.informationphilosopher.com/solutions/philosophers/cicero/de_fato_english.html#V) (7 March 2019).

71 Taisnier (1562, 3).

72 See García Avilés (1992–1993, 196) who verifies that "el espaldarazo definitivo a la fama bajomedieval de Albumasar como profeta del Nacimiento de Cristo se debe al *Speculum astrono-*

ticipate entirely in the human condition with regard to the possibility of having read his destiny in the book of nature and the configuration of heaven:

~~Noluit quoque et filius Dei unigenitus Iesus Christus tanquam verus homo libri aeternitatis eiusdem literis deesse, ut ea quae hominis sunt, velut nativitas, mortis aculeus, et alia plurima per figuram caeli significarentur, quae tamen vim naturae humanae minime excedunt. Non ea quae soli potestati divinae mere ac libere subsunt, non quod figura caeli causa esset, quod Christus nasceretur, sicut nec oracula Prophetarum causa fueren quod Christus pateretur, sed potius (ut inquit Albertus in speculo) significatio fuerat, et vero verius ipse erat causa quare modus admirandae suae nativitatis per caelum significaretur, cuius thema caeli hic etiam libuit apponere. Hactenus cum praecedentibus duobus non visum, cuius ascendens fuit octavus gradus virginis, prout testatur Albumasar differentia 1, tractato 6 in capite de ascensionibus imaginum.⁷³~~

~~[And neither wanted Jesus Christ, only child of God, as a real man to stop participating in the letters of this same book of eternity and in all that is characteristic of mankind, like birth, the sting of death and many other things that are reflected in the configuration of heaven and does not exceed the power of the human nature and not those that were only under divine control, pure and free. And not because the configuration of the sky was the reason for the birth of Christ like neither the oracles of the prophets were the reason for his suffering, but, like Albert says in the 'Mirror' they were a sign and in truth more certainly he was the cause by which the right measure of his marvellous birth was signified by heaven. We decided to include his horoscope here: Something so far not seen with the two preceding horoscopes: his ascendant was the eighth degree of Virgo, as Albumasar testifies in the first *differentia* of the sixth tract in the chapter about the ascension of pictures.]~~

Curiously, the censor is not concerned with what Taisnier takes from Albumasar about the zodiac sign under which Jesus would be born. Another sanction in the introductory section again affects Christ, whom the author presents as a physiognomist who would judge man from the eyes:

~~Nam omnes Philosophi expertissimi, sanctique viri, immo et ipse Christus Physiognomiae non parum attribuit. Nam Saluator noster Christus ex oculis totum hominem diiudicat. Etiam vulgus ex fronte pudoris impudentiaeque certa signa coniicere audet.⁷⁴~~

miae de Alberto Magno" [the definitive accolade to the late-medieval fame of Albumasar as a prophet of the birth of Christ comes from *Speculum astronomiae* by Albert the Great].

73 Taisnier (1562, 3).

74 Taisnier (1562, 8). There is yet another erasure in this introductory part, when Taisnier speaks of what is beyond the reach of astronomers: "Cum enim caelum ad hoc vel ad illud humanum corpus alteret atque disponat, bonam quoque fortunam vel malam homini inspiret, non poterit propria voluntate corpus proprium de insano sanum facere (de his dicta sunt haec, quae a natura sunt), nec poterit similiter bonam fortunam sibi in negotiis humanis, ac dignitatibus, et honoribus appropriare" (Taisnier 1562, 4–5) [So, since heaven alters and disposes the human body to this or that, inspires to mankind good or bad fortune, he cannot transform his own

[For all expert philosophers, holy men and ~~Christ himself thought highly of physiognomy.~~
~~For Christ our Lord judges a man from his eyes~~ and also normal people dare to speculate
 about certain signs of imprudence and shyness from the forehead.]

Regardless of very few erasures in the chiromantic part of the book,⁷⁵ Lucas de Alaejos did not have serious problems with the hermetic explanations of the Belgian author.

f) Conclusion

The study of physiognomic works censored in Spain shows different sensibilities when judging this semiotic practice, which wavers between condemning them as one more among the divination arts in general, going through the collateral censure based on the indecency of the woodcuts that show nude figures, and on to dogmatic questions. Physiognomy habitually continued to inspire fascination among Europeans of the Modern Age, in spite of the constant fear of entering into indefinably unorthodox terrain through the absence of an established concept of its lawfulness or unlawfulness.

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body from insane to sane (with regard to this the natural things were treated) ~~nor can he equally~~
~~get hold of good fortune in human affairs, neither in dignities and honours~~]. I cannot explain
 why the inability to intervene in human affairs, dignities, and honours seemed problematic
 for Jerónimo.

⁷⁵ Taisnier (1562, 17, 18 and 20).

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The Physiognomic Knowledge of the Archpriest of Hita

Physiognomy is a discipline that analyses the exterior aspect of human beings in order to draw conclusions about their character, disposition, and destiny. In the *Libro de buen amor* [Book of Good Love], there are three very detailed descriptions of bodily realities that lend themselves to a physiognomic reading: Don Amor paints a portrait of the ideal woman,¹ the archpriest draws the monstrous² ugliness³ of the *serrana* Alda, and Trotaconventos describes the protagonist of the seduction of the nun, doña Garoça.⁴ As Alberto Blecua correctly observes with regard to this last one: “se van dando los rasgos físicos del arcipreste que, de acuerdo con la tradición de las fisiognomías, denotaban su psicología”⁵

1 *Libro de buen amor* 430d (1992, 114); compare also (1990, 236–237) and the article by Alonso (1952).

2 See Kirby (1986, 159: “Distortion is basic to this description of the grotesque mountain woman, who is compared to animals, to monsters, and in general to items that are huge in size”), Cano Ballesta (1994, 7: “fealdad monstruosa de los vicios carnales” [monstrous ugliness of the carnal vices]), Del Vecchio (2005, 208) and recently García-Rubio (2013). Di Stefano (2001, 471) mentions “los ojos horrorizados del viajero por el cuerpo monstruoso de la serrana [the horrified eyes of the traveller seeing the monstrous body of the highland woman]”. For her animalisation see Del Vecchio (2005, 208: “La force démesurée de la montagnarde [...] orientent vers un processus d’animalisation du personnage” [The enormous force of the mountain dweller turns toward an animalisation of the figure]), Rubiales Roldán (2008, 334) and López Rodríguez (2009, 75–77). The animals with which the highland woman is compared –crow, she-bear, donkey, curlew, bulldog, thrush, heifer – do not correspond to those used by physiognomists, which are, in the case of the Anonymous Latin, horse, ass, ox, deer, lion, dog, ape, goose, wolf, tortoise, serpent, peacock, and rooster.

3 Regarding the ugliness of the highland woman, see Scarborough (2007, 101: “The poet gives full rein to his poetic powers of description giving us all the gruesome details of her appearance: she is huge and hairy with ears like a donkey, a mouth like a big, ferocious dog, ankles the size of year-old cow, with a hoarse and unpleasant voice, and breasts so large and pendulous that she can sling them over her shoulder”). As critics observed – Marmo (1982, 84) and Di Stefano (2001, 452) –, the ugliness described in the *cuaderna vía* contrasts with the description in the lyrical part. Morros Mestres (2004) proposes the *Alda* by Guglielmo de Blois and the *Geta* by Vitalis de Blois as models of the description.

4 See Kane (1930).

5 *Libro de buen amor* (1992, 380). See also Lida de Malkiel (1973, 117–118: “La semblanza no es individual: reúne simplemente los rasgos con que los numerosos tratados medievales sobre el arte de la fisonomía y sobre el estudio de los temperamentos caracteriza al hombre ‘doñeador’. Por lo demás, el orden de enumeración de los rasgos obedece al canon retórico ya mencionado” [The similarity is not individual: it simply unites the traits with which many medieval treatises

[the physical traits of the archpriest are shown, which, in accordance with the tradition of physiognomy, denoted his psychology]. It was mainly British and American scholars like Peter N. Dunn and André S. Michalski, who, echoing investigations on physiognomy in Geoffrey Chaucer,⁶ have applied this methodology to the study of the work by Juan Ruiz.⁷ Dunn explained the “discordant features” of the portrait of the archpriest as “traits having an erotic significance” (1970, 79–80). Michalski likewise confirms: “At least, it is evident that Ruiz’s concern in drawing the portrait discussed is physiognomical much more than it is aesthetic” (1964, 68). And, in fact, he puts forth some physiognomic manuals to explain some of the features of the ideal woman, wide hips, for example, being a sign of a voluptuous person according to Polemon.⁸ Scholars use, in an

on the art of physiognomy and the study of temperaments characterise the ‘womanizer’. As for the rest, the order of enumeration of traits conforms with the aforementioned rhetorical canon] and López Castro (2011, 270): “De acuerdo con la tradición fisiognómica, los rasgos físicos revelan la psicología del personaje. El hecho de que Juan Ruiz se detenga más aquí en las cualidades físicas (cuatro coplas) que en las morales (una copla), tal vez porque el retrato del cuerpo despierta el deseo de la persona amada, pone de relieve el temperamento del hombre ‘doñeador’ o cortejador, que debe comportarse con las cualidades del amante cortés” [In accordance with the physiognomic tradition, physical traits reveal the psychology of the person. The fact that Juan Ruiz is more concerned with physical qualities (four couplets) than with morals (one couplet), perhaps because the portrait of the body awakens the desire for the person loved, highlights the temperament of the seducer or ‘womanizer’, who must behave with the qualities of the courtly lover].

6 See the works of Curry (1920, 1922 and 1926), Clark (1930), Horton (1933), Pace (1962), Hanson (1970), Friedman (1981), Brasswell-Means (1991) and Wurtele (1999).

7 López Rodríguez (2009) investigates in this direction by recalling the parallels with Chaucer, but she is mainly occupied, as is Lida de Malkiel (1940), with humoral theory. Haywood (2004): proposes from her reading of Chaucer, a somewhat audacious interpretation: “[...] la Wife of Bath afirma que la portadora del sello o marca de nacimiento de Venus disfruta de una naturaleza lasciva y tiene genitales que proporcionan a la pareja un placer especialmente intenso. Si a ustedes no les convence tal interpretación astrológica, quedan en apoyo de mi interpretación las asociaciones folklóricas y carnavalescas entre la boca superior e inferior de la mujer. Desde esta óptica los dientes mellados significarían la accesibilidad y la naturaleza abierta del orificio vaginal; y la relación entre la boca y los genitales también hace alusión al apetito” [the Wife of Bath affirms that the carrier of the seal or birthmark of Venus enjoys a lascivious nature and has genitals that give to a partner especially intense pleasure. If you are not convinced by such an astrological interpretation, my interpretation is also supported by carnivalesque and folkloric associations between the upper and lower mouth of the woman. From this view, the jagged teeth would indicate the accessibility and open nature of the vaginal orifice; and the relationship between the mouth and the genitals also alludes to the appetite].

8 Michalski (1968, 71): “It moreover appears that, in drawing this ideal portrait, Juan Ruiz was not content with picturing a woman who is merely very feminine and has an agreeable physique,

indiscriminate way, the anthology *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini* by Richard Förster, published at the end of the nineteenth century, without taking into account that the majority of the treatises compiled in it,⁹ like the aforementioned Polemon, had no dissemination in the West during the Middle Ages, as Simon Swain observes: “The *Physiognomy* [of Polemon] survives in a Greek version by Adamantius, which is undoubtedly fourth-century, and an Arabic translation (the Leiden) which exists in a single manuscript” (2007, 176). In order to appreciate the possible implications of physiognomy in Juan Ruiz, it is necessary to untangle the history of this discipline, of its dissemination and status as a science in the European Middle Ages.¹⁰

Physiognomy is reborn in the West thanks to the discovery of Latin, Greek, and Arabic texts. At the turn of the twelfth century a Latin physiognomic text was discovered, occasionally attributed to Apuleius, which is known as Anonymous Latin work, which starts to circulate widely in the next century.¹¹ The end of the twelfth century, circa 1175, is the date of the translation of the *Liber ad Almansorem* by Rasis, made by Gerardo da Cremona.¹² At the beginning of

but that he has also endowed her with traits, which, in mediaeval physiognomy, are indicative of a lecherous nature”.

9 See Denieul-Cormier (1956, VII): “Mais, des cinq ouvrages de Physiognomonie produits par l’Antiquité gréco-latine, traités grecs du Pseudo-Aristote, de Polémon, d’Adamantius et du Pseudo-Polémon, traité latin de l’Anonyme, le Moyen Âge occidental n’en connaît que deux: celui du Pseudo-Aristote et celui de l’Anonyme” [But, from the five works on physiognomy that the Greek and Latin Antiquity produced, Greek treatises of the Pseudo-Aristotle, Polemon, Adamantius and Pseudo-Polemon and a Latin treatise by an anonymous author, the occidental Middle Ages knows only two: the one of the Pseudo-Aristotle and the one by the Anonymous], as well as the studies compiled in Swain (2007). Goldberg (1986, 2–3), which parts from Dunn’s study, itself turns to Polemon, according to her, “[o]ne of the most frequently quoted physiognomists”.

10 For the history of this science in the Middle Ages, consult the studies of Paschetto (1985), Agrimi (2002), Ziegler (2001, 2004, 2007), Val Naval (2008) and González Manjarrés (2011 and 2012); for the relationships between physiognomy and literature in the Middle Ages, see Carré (2010).

11 The treatise was published with the titles *De Physiognomonia liber* by Rose (1864–1870, 105–139), in the Förster anthology (1893, II, 3–145) and more recently by André (1981 [2003]) in a bilingual French and Latin edition; for this, see Rose (1864–1870, 61–102), Agrimi (2002, 5) and the introduction by André. Rose (1864–1870, 171–201) also publishes the *Egidius Corboliensis metra de physonomiis*, according to him a versified version of the pseudo-Apuleian version by French doctor Gilles de Corbeil (1140–1224), for which one can also see Hanson (1970, 12).

12 This translation was published with the title *Abubecri Rasis ad regem Mansorem de re medicina liber II traslatus ex arabico in latinum a Gerardo Cremonensi* [two books about medicine dedicated by Abubecri Rasis to the king Mansur and translated from Arabic into Latin by Gerardus Cremonensis] in the Förster anthology (1893, II, 161–180); for this, see Agrimi (2002, 5); for the translation see Autuori (1984).

the thirteenth century, probably before 1230, one Philippus Tripolitanus translated the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*.¹³ The second treatise, wrongly attributed to the Stagirite, the *Physiognomonica* (1258–1262), was translated during the middle of the same century by Bartolomeo da Messina.¹⁴ There would appear, from this moment onward, inspired by the Greek and Arabic texts that have been mentioned, sections on physiognomy in encyclopaedic and scientific works by authors like Vincent de Beauvais (1184/94–1264), Aldobrandino da Siena (...–1296)¹⁵ or Albertus Magnus (1200–1280).¹⁶ Two physiognomic works deserve special mention: the *Liber phisonomie* (post 1228) by Michael Scott¹⁷ and the *Compilatio Physionomie* (1295) by Pietro d'Abano.¹⁸ While the Scottish scholar,

13 Three Latin versions of the *Secretum Secretorum* (1893, II, 181–222) are compiled in the Förster anthology; the medieval Spanish versions of the *Poridat de las poridades* were published recently by Bizzarri (2010). For the different opinions on the date of the translation, see Möller who observes: “Hiernach [Prolog der lateinischen Fassung] will ein Kleriker Philippus das *Secretum* in Antiochia gefunden [...] und für Guido Vere aus Valencia, Bischof von Tripolis [...] aus dem Arabischen ins Lateinische übersetzt haben. Wir wissen jedoch weder über einen Bischof Guido noch über einen Kleriker Philippus etwas bestimmtes” (1963, LVIX) [Following (the prologue of the Latin version) a cleric called Philippus found the *Secretum* in Antiocheia ... and translated it for Guido Vere from Valencia, bishop in Tripoli from Arabic into Latin. We know nothing definitive about a bishop called Guido nor about a cleric Philippus]. For versions in the Neo-Latin languages, see Zamuner (2005).

14 Consult the text in the Förster anthology (1893, I, 4–92) and for this, see also Hanson (1970, 12).

15 Hanson (1970, 12): “Another popular medical work, *Le Regime du corps* by Aldobrandin of Siena, includes a large section of physiognomy [...] The physiognomy is taken *almost verbatim* from the work of Rhazes”. The edition by Landouzy & Pépin, Paris (1911) can be consulted online in a digital version by Serena Moden in RIALFri (Repertorio informatizzato antica letteratura franco-italiana): <http://www.rialfri.eu/rialfri/testi/regimine004.html> (7 March 2019).

16 For this, see Scharold (1932, 290), who dedicates his work above all to humoral pathology, and Agrimi (2002, 8).

17 The treatise by Scot was published on repeated occasions from the end of the fifteenth century (*editio princeps*: Venezia, Jacopo da Fivizzano, 1477, see Thorndike 1954 for the incunables) and was also translated to Spanish in the Latin compendium by Johannes de Ketham. The Spanish version was edited by Sánchez González de Herrero (2009); there is no modern edition of the Latin text, but there is an entire series of studies by Jacquart (1994), Agrimi (2002, 5 and 22–29) and Ziegler, who notes that the text had scarce influence before being printed (2008, 299). As for Michael's sources, Burnett observes (1994, 109): “In short, Michael's sources are mainly texts translated in Toledo and, to a lesser extent, Barcelona”. For the life and work of Scotus and particularly his link with the imperial court, see Brown (1897), Haskins (1921), Thorndike (1965) and more recently Ackermann (2009).

18 The work titled *Liber compilationis physiognomiae* was printed in Padua by Petrus Maufer in 1474 and reedited in Padua in 1476 and in Venice in 1483 “per Jo. Herbart de Selgenstadt alemanum”. We know of another edition of the same work, titled *Decisiones Physionomiae* [...] in civ-

who writes in the Sicilian court of Frederick II, links physiognomy with the complexions,¹⁹ the Paduan doctor, residing in Paris, studies the bodily signs in relation to astrology.²⁰ At the start of the fourteenth century, when the archpriest is writing, physiognomy was an independent science in the academic *curriculum*; as Jole Agrimi observes, “[u]na scienza con ambiti e fine ben definiti, che fa ponte tra *libri naturales* e *libri morales*, tra filosofia o scienza teorica e filosofia o scienza pratica; tra conoscenza della natura umana e conoscenza delle virtù, da una parte, e regole etiche, della convivenza civile e del buon governo, dall’altra” (2001, 9) [a science with well defined fields and objectives, that serves

*itate Parisiensi scriptae anno [...] M. CCC.XXXV. Pisiensi studio edito, nuperrimae vero a [Michelangelo] Blondo medico [...] compertae inque lucem productae [...], Venetiis, per Cominum de Tri-dino, 1548. Given that there is no modern edition of the text, I work with a digital copy of *editio princeps*, available on the National Library of Paris server, *Gallica*. Regarding the medical and astrological studies of Pietro d’Abano see Federici Vescovini (1991b) and Jacquot (1993)*

19 See Ziegler (2004, no pages).

20 For this see Paschetto (1985, 106: “La *Compilatio Physionomiae* non è certo il solo trattato che mette in relazione fisiognomica e astrologia: il nesso, appena suggerito nel *Secretum secretorum*, è sviluppato nell’*Elegans naturae cognitio*, ove l’esame dei tratti somatici segue l’analisi dei sette tipi dominati dai pianeti [...] la *Compilatio Physionomiae* [...] è il solo trattato – a nostra conoscenza – che cerchi di fondare la fisiognomica come scienza: l’analisi dei tipi astrologici non vi è fine a se stessa, come accade nell’*Elegans naturae cognitio*, ma diviene argomento che motiva e giustifica la validità speculativa della fisiognomica” [The *Compilatio Physionomiae* is certainly not the only treatise that relates physiognomy and astrology; the link, just suggested in the *Secretum secretorum*, is developed in the *Elegans natura cognitio*, where the exam of the somatic traits follows the analysis of the seven types dominated by the planets ... the *Compilatio Physionomiae* ... is the only treatise – as far as we know – that seeks to establish physiognomy as a science: the analysis of the astrological types is not an end in itself as it happens to be in *Elegans natura cognitio*, but it becomes the argument that motivates and justifies the speculative validity of physiognomy]), Federici Vescovini (1991a, 45: “La fisiognomia delle membra di Pietro d’Abano ha, inoltre, il suo fondamento nella teoria medica delle complessioni, le quali, a loro volta, sono fondate sulla dottrina astrologica relativa alle nature dei pianeti. In altri termini i moti psichici degli individui sono classificati secondo la tipologia medica delle complessioni umorali le quali sono concepite in dipendenza delle complessioni dei pianeti” [The physiognomy of the limbs of Pietro d’Abano has, furthermore, its basis in the medical theory of the complexions, which, for their part, are based on the astrological theory regarding the nature of the planets. In other words, the psychic movements of the individuals are classified following the medical typology of the complexions of the humours which are conceived depending on the complexions of the planets]) and Porter (2005, 73: “Suffice it to say that whilst Abano was not the first to link physiognomy with astrology, he did explore this link in more detail than any previous writer in the physiognomical canon. In Ptolemaic astrology, there were specific, if loose, physiognomical indications attributed to the planets. Abano joins this physiognomy to the physiognomical description of zodiacal types, and includes notes about their state of health as well as their preferences, their colours and their fortunate days”).

as a bridge in between *libri naturales* and *libri morales*, or philosophy and practical science, in between the knowledge of the human nature and the knowledge of virtues on the one hand, and ethical rules about civil coexistence and good government on the other]. Chapters on this discipline are collected in theological works, like the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* (ca. 1265) by the Dominican Hugo Ripillinus. As with the commentary from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* by the French scholastic philosopher Jean Buridan (1300 – 1360),²¹ this manual justifies supposed bodily determinism as an inclination that indicates a probability:

Nota insuper habent quod licet per signa membrorum naturalium mores hominum cognoscantur, non tamen imponunt necessitatem sed ostendunt inclinationem naturae: nec semper denuntiant affectus hominum, sed frequenter et probabiliter.²²

[Notice about the question if it is allowed to get to know from the natural signs of the limbs the habits of men; they do not impose however a necessity but display an inclination of nature; and they do not always denounce a state of body, but frequently and with high probability.]

We do not have access to much data on the reception of this discipline in the Iberian Peninsula. We know that a physiognomic treatise, written by a Christian author in the thirteenth century and published by Roger Pack with the title *Auctoris incerti de physiognomonia libellus*,²³ circulated in Spain. One of the four surviving manuscripts is preserved in the Library of the Escorial (Ms. P.III. 8), and it wrongly attributes the small work to the Persian polymath Avicenna. The *Catálogo* of Father Antolín Pajares (1913: 228–230) dates the copy to the fourteenth century and informs us that it comes from the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares; but that is a different story. In this treatise dental diastema is described,²⁴

21 See Thorndike (1943, 102) regarding Buridano's thesis: "The superior heavenly bodies do not, however, force the will or nullify freedom of the will, although they make it difficult. The stars do not impose necessity upon man but indicate a strong probability as to his fortune and future. Nor is their influence impermutable by the will of God, and so prayers to Him may be of avail. Nor does man by foreseeing the future become God's equal", for his particular vision of "intersoggettività corporea" [bodily intersubjectivity] refer to Ghisalberti (1979).

22 *Compendium theologiae veritatis* (1554, 223). For the work and its dissemination in the Middle Ages, see the introduction to the critical edition of the medieval French translation by Michler (1982).

23 Some researchers refer to this treatise with *incipit Elegans est nature cognitio* as the title. Agrimi (2001, 15) characterises it as "uno dei primi e più significativi testi della tradizione latina medievale" [one of the first and most important texts of the Latin medieval tradition].

24 Regarding the gapped teeth, see Barbera (1968).

which the ideal lady of the *Book of Good Love* shares with the protagonist of Chaucer's the *Wife of Bath*, as a sign of a lascivious person: "Dentes rari significant maledicentem et lascivum" (Pack 1974, 137) [gapped teeth signify slandering and lustfulness]. Moreover, it links characterology with astrology²⁵ and points to the bodily signs of the children of each planet. Recall in this context that Juan Ruiz justifies his condition as a lover²⁶ after the famous story of the horoscope of King Alcaraz's son,²⁷ with his birth under the dominion of the planet Venus:

Muchos naçen en Venus; que lo más de su vida
es amar las mugeres; nunca se les olvida;
trabajan et afanan mucho sin medida,
e los más non recabdan la cosa más querida.

En este signo atal creo que yo naşçı,
siempre puñé en servir dueñas que conoçı,
el bien que me feçieron, non lo desgradeçı,
a muchas serví mucho, que nada acabesçı.

25 Regarding this, see Pack (1974, 115): "In the West, astrology was of course wedded to physiognomy at an early time: the idea that the planets shape or mould the physical and mental qualities of mankind is abundantly evidenced from the second century of our era by the works of Ptolemy, Vettius Valens, and Firmicus Maternus." Also consult the study from Blume's perspective of art history (2000), with a great number of illustrations.

26 See, among others, Ullmann, (1964, 204 "He *believes* that he was born under the sign of Venus because he has experienced [...] the symptoms of one born under those circumstances. In other words: forgive me for running after women, because I believe myself predestined to have this occupation; I believe the latter because I have been running after women all my life."), Vicente García (1999, 340: "El problema de la astrología lo plantea el Arcipreste de Hita ligado al problema de la inclinación a amar. El Arcipreste se sitúa como personaje narrador y protagonista bajo el signo de Venus. Como tantos otros aspectos de este libro no sabemos hasta qué punto eso reviste una función simbólica o real. Es decir, puede significar que el Arcipreste nació bajo los signos de Tauro o de Libra, a los cuales rige el planeta Venus, si lo leemos literalmente; o tal vez sólo sea un modo de expresar la tendencia natural del Arcipreste a amar a las mujeres" [The Archpriest of Hita lays out the problem of astrology as being bound to the inclination to love. He is situated as a narrating character and protagonist under the sign of Venus. As with so many other aspects of this book, we don't know to what extent this serves a real or symbolic function. That is to say, it could mean that the Archpriest was born under the signs of Taurus o Libra, which are reigned by the planet Venus, if we read it literally; or perhaps it is only a way of expressing the Archpriest's natural tendency to love women]) and Maldonado (2008, 267: "Él, que ha nacido bajo signo de Venus y, en consecuencia, está siempre buscando el amor de las mujeres, necesita, para buscar su salvación, vencer a los designios de las estrellas" [He, who was born under the sign of Venus and, in consequence, is always searching for the love of women, needs, in order to find his salvation, to overcome the plans of the stars]).

27 Many researchers studying this episode have been interested above all in the source – see Castro Guisasola (1923), Crawford (1925) and more recently Lacarra (2006).

[Some men are born in Venus' sign and all their days aspire
To making love to females, doing all that girls require;
For them they fret and shame themselves and set their souls afire
Though few there be who gain the goal they secretly desire.

'Twas under such a sign I think I must have seen the light
Because I long for girls by day and lust for them at night,
Yet though I ne'er ungrateful was for favours how so slight,
And served a host of ladies, ne'er I seemed to come out right.]²⁸

In our treatise, children of Venus consider themselves not only inclined toward love, music and poetry, but also possessed of certain positive and negative traits – cajolery and affability, for example – and a determinate bodily disposition:

Venus facit iocosos, amantes, gaudentes, diversa genera instrumentorum musicorum appetentes, deliciosos, nobiles, gestu lascivos, adulantes, mendaces, laudem appetentes, affabiles, non multum irascibiles et iram facile remittentes, vix consilio credentes, simulatos, largos et levis memorie. Signa Veneris sun hec: vultus mutabilis, frons mediocris, supercilia gracilia, oculi ridentes et albi, nasus curvus vel acutus, os largum, labia rubea et tumida, dentes albi. Prurientes <erunt> et pluribus rebus intendentibus et plus albas vestes amant.²⁹

[Venus produces persons who jest, love and are joyful; who love different kinds of instruments, who are delicious, noble, with lascivious gestures, flattering, mendacious, gushing, affable, not very irascible and their anger disappears quickly, hardly believing advices, dissemblers, open-handed and with a smooth memory. Signs of Venus are the following: a changing face, a forehead of medium height, graceful eyebrows, laughing clear eyes, a curved or pointy nose, a large mouth, red and swollen lips, white teeth. They are lustful and with good understanding for many things and they love white clothing.]

These “signa Veneris” only correspond in relation to red, full lips with the “labros al comunal, / más gordos que delgados, bermejos como coral” [his lips are like the average knave / More full than fine, yet coloured with a red the coral gave]³⁰ of the portrait of the Archpriest. In the *Libro complido en los judizios de las estrellas* [*The Complete Book of the Judgment of the Stars*], the Spanish translation of Abenragel's astrological work, done by Yehuda ben Moshe for Alfonso X the Wise in 1254, some characteristics appear again; others, by contrast, are diametrically opposed:

²⁸ *Libro de buen amor* 152–153 Blecua (1992, 47), compare also (1990, 138–139). Translation by Elisha Kane (1933 [2005], 31).

²⁹ *Auctoris incerti de physiognomonía libellus* (1974, 129).

³⁰ *Libro de buen amor* 1487b Blecua (1992, 381), compare also (1990, 627). Translation by Elisha Kane (1933 [2005], 270).

Venus semeia a Jupiter fueras ende que acontece por ella apartada miente seer mas fermoso. & de mejor parecer. & de mejor recibir. & de mas hermosa forma. & fermosura conui-niente a fermosura de mugieres. & es mas manso & de mas blando cuerpo. & propria miente sos oios entre zarcos & prietos. & fermosos. & dellos dizen que es ya quantiello baço mezclado con vermeiura. flaco de hermosa catadura. la negror desos oios mas que el blanco. delgadas sobreceias & ayuntadas. cara redonda. & delgados beços. mucha carne en la cara. de fermosos oios. & angostos pechos. & cortas costiellas. piernas gordas. blanda catadura.³¹

[Venus is similar to Jupiter, unless that she appears alone, he seems to be more beautiful and of better aspect and better reception, and of more beautiful form, and of beauty comparable to that of women, and he is more docile, and of softer body, and with eyes between light and dark blue, and beautiful, and of them it is said that a little bit of brown colour is mixed with red. Beautifully thin and of beautiful aspect. The black of the eyes is more than the white. Thin eyebrows, well placed. Round face and thin lips. A lot of flesh in the face. Of beautiful eyes and narrow breast and short ribs. Fat legs. Soft appearance.]

The colour of the complexion “que es ya quantiello baço” [that is a bit of brown] in Abenragel corresponds to “un poquillo baço” [a bit of brown] of the face of the Archpriest. Although I cannot offer a model that relates to more bodily traits of the Archpriest, the idea of planetary children and their link with physiognomy underscores the existing relationship between the condition of the child of Venus and the exterior aspect of the Archpriest.

Another widely read author in the times of Juan Ruiz, perhaps by the Archpriest himself, is the aforementioned Michael Scott. In his *Liber phisonomie*, he distinguishes between two types of women: The one giving birth and the one enjoying sexual intercourse. Among the “Signa mulieris calide nature et que coit libenter”³² [Signs of women of hot nature and who like to have sexual inter-

³¹ I quote from the edition by P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, Rocío Díaz Moreno & Elena Trujillo Belso, made for CORDE.

³² Text published as an annex to the article by Jacquart (1994, 36–37). For the female body see Jacquart (1993) and the works of Ghersetti (1994, 46 with reference to the “bocca intensamente rossa” [very red mouth] as a sign of “un gran godimento nel coito” [great pleasure during coitus]), (1995, 197: “Nei trattati di *firasa* esiste sì un sapere fisiognomico declinato al femminile ma esso è privo [...] di quei riferimenti monotematici così espliciti e marcati alia sfera sessuale che sono peculiari invece delle indicazioni relative all’acquisto delle schiave” [In the treatises about *firasa* exists physiognomical knowledge about women, but it is free ... of those explicit and clear monothematic references to the sexual sphere, that are very peculiar instead when dealing with the purchase of female slaves]; recalling a chapter on women in Razi (198) and in Scoto (201)). Ghersetti (1999) observes, upon studying a “trattato erotologico di scarsa originalità” (64) [not very original erotological treatise], wrongly attributed to Polemon and preserved in a sole manuscript (Topkapi Saray 3207) that “in area arabo-islamica un sapere fisiognomico declinato al

course] he enumerates their “mammas [...] parvas et illas convenienter plenas et duras”³³ [small breasts that are conveniently full and hard], a point which clarifies why don Amor recommends a woman with “los pechos chicos” (444c) [small breasts]. Also interesting is the distinction that Scott makes between male and female bodily signs. Concerning the size of a man’s nose and a woman’s foot, he observes that they are signs of their respective sexual organs:

<i>Tratado de fisonomía</i>	<i>Michael Scott, Liber phisonomie</i>
Exemplo: en el hombre la nariz luenga y gruessa significa el prepucio, capillo y miembro ser grande, y por la contra; y por esso dixo uno que según la forma de la nariz se conoce la verga. En las mugeres el pie es señal de la natura, el cual, si es luengo angosto y flaco, significa y denota la natura ser luenga, angosta y magra, y por la contra. Item la medida del medio pie desnudo es medida de la natura de la muger; y por esso dixo uno: según la forma del pie conocerás el vaso de la muger	Verbi gratia. In viro nasus grossus et longus significat preputium magnum et econtrario. Super hoc dixit quidam et bene: ‘Ad formam nasi cognoscitur testa baiardi’. In muliere pes est signum vulve, quia, si fuerit ei pes longus et strictus ac macer, significat vulvam longam et strictam ac macram et econtrario. Item mensura longitudinis medii pedis nudi est mensura totius longitudinis vulve unicuique. Unde versus: ‘Ad formam pedum cognoscitur vas mulierum’.

[Example: in the man, a long and thick nose signifies that the foreskin, tip and member are large, and the opposite is also true; that is why it is said that, according to the form of the nose, one knows the member. In women, the foot is the indicator of her genitalia, which, if it is long and narrow, indicates that the genitals are likewise long, narrow and lean, as well as the opposite. The length of half a bare foot is the length of a woman’s genitals; which is why it is said: via the form of the foot you will know the privates of a woman.]

This interpretation of the size of the nose explains why Trotaconventos insists so much on the huge nose that ruins the Archpriest’s face – “la su nariz es luenga: esto le descompón” [his nose is long: this spoils him] – as an indicator of his virility.³⁴

femminile” [in the Arabic-Islam world a physiognomical knowledge about women] does not exist (59).

33 See Jacquart (1994, 36).

34 See also Morreale (1967, 282–283): “La alusión al erotismo se hace aún más abierta cuando T. comenta que la nariz *luenga* descompone, o ‘afea’, al A. aunque en realidad es el rasgo más cónsono con todo el resto de la descripción de su apariencia física: ‘Hombre narigudo, pocas veces cornudo’” [The allusion to eroticism is left even more open when T. comments that the long nose deforms, or ‘disfigures’ A., although in reality it is the trait most consistent with the rest of the description of his physical appearance: ‘Sharp-nosed man, seldom hooked’].

Another sign of masculinity is a large head. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica*³⁵ and the *Liber ad Almansorem*³⁶ describe women as being inferior to men, as they are distinguished – just like the ideal lady as depicted by don Amor³⁷ – by a small head and meaty hips.

35 “at vero et hoc manifestum est, quod singulum in unoquoque genere est femina mare minoris capitis et angustioris faciei et subtilioris colli et pectora imbecilliora habent et parvum costarum sunt. anchas autem et coxas magis carnosas maribus, genua mollia et crura subtilia habent, pedes vero pulchriores et formam totius corporis molliorem magis quam fortiorem, minus nervosa autem sunt et molliora, utentia humidioribus carnibus” (Förster 1893, I, 23) [And on the other hand, it is equally evident that in every species the females have smaller heads than the male, a longer face, a more delicate neck, a weaker chest, finer ribs, and the hips and thighs are fattier than those of the males. Their legs are slim, and they knock together when walking, their feet are more elegant, and their whole physical aspect is especially pleasant, even noble, but they are lighter and softer and of more humid flesh]. Compare also the Anonymous Latin and Pietro d’Abano (1548, 3r). Dunn (1970, 84) quotes, regarding the “cabeça non chica” [large head] of the portrait of Juan Ruiz, pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy, which states: “Quicunque autem habent magnum caput, sensitivi referuntur ad canes” [The ones which have a big head are intelligent: think about dogs].

36 Förster (1893, II, 178): “In omnibus animalium generibus feminae magis mortuum habent animum minusque sunt patientes et citius converti possunt citiusque irascuntur et velocius sedantur maiorisque sunt calliditatis. sunt praeterea praecepites et inverecundae. caput etiam habent parvum et faciem et collum subtilia, pectus quoque et spatulas habent magis angusta atque costas minores. coxas vero utrinque habent crassas et nates similiter. earum insuper crura gracilia sunt, manus autem et pedes tenues. quae in omnibus animalium, ut praedictum est, generibus masculis et timidiores et deterius inveniuntur morigeratae” [In all animal species women have a quieter soul and are more patient, and they can change easily, and they worry readily and reconcile easily. They are of high shrewdness and very precipitate and without shame. They have a small head and tiny face and neck, breasts and shoulders are more narrow, and the ribs are smaller. The hips and the thighs are fleshy, and the buttocks are the same way. The legs are thin and the hands as well; the feet are small like in all animal species, as we said before, they are more fearful than the male and more immoral].

37 *Libro de buen amor* 445 (1992, 118), compare also the commentary in the Joset edition (1990, 245). In G, wide hips are twice mentioned, see *Libro de buen amor* 432, (1992, 115): 432d: angosta de cabellos. G: ancheta de caderas. Alarcos Llorach (1973, 173) proposes the reading “angosta de carriellos” for 432d. Joset (1990, 237) edits “ancheta de caderas” and notes: “lo mismo en *La doncella Teodor* [...]; el rasgo se encuentra tanto en la tradición europea, aunque con testimonios escasos [...] como en la árabe” [the same in *La doncella Teodor* ...; the trait is so often found in the European tradition, although with scarce testimony ... like in the Arabic one]. Lecoy (1938, 302, note 1) mentions “*La Vieille*, 2755 et Villon, *Test.*, 503”. The “hanches charnues” of the *Belle Heaulmiere*, described by François Villon, refer, according to Mettmann (1961, 142) to something else. See also Alarcos Llorach (1973). For the significance of hips in physiognomy see Curry (1926, 331, note 30): “The physiognomists agree on the significance of large hips, see Angellus Blondus, *De cognitione hominis per aspectum*, Romae, 1544, p. xv; Rudolph Goclenius, *Physiognomica et chiromantica specialia*, Hamburgi, 1661, p. 93; Porta, *De humana physiog-*

In light of this, it is not surprising that the Archpriest had a “not-small head” in contrast to the “tiny head” of the ideal lady according to her respective sexual framing. In the portrait of the highland woman, which contrasts and corresponds in many ways with the description of the ideal woman³⁸ as with that of the Archpriest,³⁹ his “cabeça mucho grande, sin guisa” [a very large head, without mea-

nomia, Hanoviae, p. 249; Rasis and others in *Scriptores physiognomici*, ed. R. Förster, II, 172, 217, etc.”.

38 See Lida de Malkiel (1940, 123), Gybbon-Monypenny (1962, 219: “Whether the description of the fourth *serrana* would have been terrifying for a medieval public, or merely comic, is hard to guess [...] But there is a further point of interest: the original description [...] corresponds very closely to the description of the ideal woman given by Don Amor [...]; eleven of the fourteen features listed in these stanzas recur, in grotesquely opposite form, in the description of the *serrana*, and only one new feature is given. Don Amor takes up the description in stanzas 444–45 and 448; eight out of the ten features given here recur in stanzas 1016–20. This correspondence may be mere coincidence; on the other hand, the addition of these five stanzas may have been inspired by a desire to complete the parallel, making the *serrana* as nearly as possible the opposite, feature for feature, of the ideal, desirable woman”), Michalski (1968, 85), Deyermond (1970, 63: “Alda [...] is a point-by-point antithesis of that of the ideal lady”), Tate (1970, 224: “Basically a descriptive *enumeratio* of the caricaturesque wild woman of the sierra, it is contrived as a photographic negative of the ideal woman describes at 431–445, 448 of Don Amor’s address”), Johnston (1976, 179), Marmo (1982, 95: “[...] la sequenza si caratterizza proprio per le 10 strofe dedicate alla famosa descrizione della *serrana* come la *más grande fantasma que ví en este siglo*, somma di tutte le possibili bruttezze accennate a proposito delle altre ed immagine rovesciata della bellezza ideale femminile descritta da Don Amor” [The sequence is characterised really by the 10 stanzas dedicated to the famous description of the mountain woman as *the biggest phantom I saw in this century*, the sum of all possible characteristics of ugliness mentioned in the description of the other mountain women and reversal of the ideal female beauty described by Don Amor]), Kirby (1986, 159: “Juan Ruiz has exaggerated the ugly and diabolic qualities of the wild women in his detailed portrait of Alda’s features. The norm of moderation and smallness inherent in the rhetorical description of the ideal woman here gives way to unbridled exaggeration and hugeness of size”), Reynal (1991, 116), Miaja de la Peña (1995, 386) and Casillas (1998, 88). Burke (1975, 19) also compares the highland women with the “dueñas chicas” [small women]. I could not consult the work of Villegas (1978).

39 Lida de Malkiel (1940, 123), Michalski (1968, 96), Deyermond (1970, 63: “Alda is, however, not merely contrasted with the ideal lady, but is also shown to be very similar to the Juan Ruiz described by Trotaconventos [...] Moreover, if one accepts the view that the description of Juan Ruiz is carefully constructed to emphasize his virility, it follows that Alda’s characteristics are those of male sexual potency”), Ly (1992, 23: “Le portrait masculin répond aux deux portraits féminins que développe le *Libro de Buen Amor*: celui de la femme idéale pour l’amour [...], et l’*anti-portrait* de la *serrana* qui coule au moule galant une animalité répugnante et une sensualité bestiale, qui sont au portrait poétique-cadre ce que la *sotte chanson* des *serranas*, brutale et grossière, est à la chanson amoureuse et courtoise” [The masculine portrait answers the two female portraits developed in the *Book of Good Love*: the one of the ideal woman for love ... and the anti-portrait of the mountain woman that pours into the gallant mould a loathsome bes-

sure] attracts attention. It deals with a masculinised woman⁴⁰ and her description coincides with the “*indicia corporis masculini*” that dominate the *De Physiognomonia liber* by the anonymous Latin:

Veniamus ad indicia corporis masculini. Caput grande, capillius crassior, rubeus uel niger cum rubore, stabilis, modice inflexus, color rubeus non clari ruboris uel niger, suffusus tamen rubore, oculi paulo impressiores, minaces, subnigri [...] uel glauci.⁴¹

[Let's come to the signs of the masculine body: a big head, thick hair, reddish brown or black mixed with reddish brown, straight, not very wavy, red complexion without being

tiality and a beastly sensuality which are in the frame of the poetic portrait what the violent and vulgar *sotte chanson* of the mountain women is confronted with the courteous love poem]), Cano Ballesta (1994, 6–7) and Haywood (2004, w/o pages).

40 See López Castro (2011, 268: “A medida que avanzamos en la descripción de la serrana, la abundancia de rasgos masculinos [...] no hace más que poner de relieve la imagen del Otro como figura dominante. Al ser la serrana la que ejerce un poder físico, pues controla el puerto, asalta al viajero y le fuerza al acto sexual, se invierten los papeles genéricos, dentro de un ambiente carnavalesco, con el objeto de desenmascarar la verdad sobre la naturaleza femenina.” [As we advance in the description of the highland woman, the abundance of masculine traits ... does nothing more than to highlight the image of the Other as a dominating figure. As it is the highland woman who exerts physical power, she likewise controls the mountain pass, assaults the traveller and forces the sex act upon him, gender roles are upended, within a carnivalesque atmosphere, with the objective of unmasking the truth of the female nature]) and also Michalski (1968, 68–69), who observes with reference to the “*indicia corporis femini*” of the Anonymous Latin: “Whereas we observed serious discrepancies between Ruiz’s feminine ideal and that of schoolmen, we notice that it has a much closer affinity with such a description of a (typical) woman, as this one, taken from a treatise on physiognomy”.

41 *De Physiognomonia liber*, ed. André (1981 [2003], 52–53). Also see the editor’s comment: “Les signes du caractère masculin ne sont décrits ni dans Adamant [...] ni dans la version arabe [...]. Il y est dit seulement qu’ils sont le contraire des signes féminins, dont l’exposé est très développé. Ils sont brièvement indiqué dans le Ps.-Aristote, 10, dont le texte montre que les comparatifs ne sont pas, comme ailleurs, des intensifs et s’entendent par comparaison avec le type féminin” (1981 [2003], 52, note 5) [The signs of the masculine character are not described by Adamantius ... neither in the Arabic version ... It is only mentioned that they are the contrary to the female signs, that are displayed with great detail. They are briefly indicated in the Pseudo-Aristotle 10, where the text shows that the comparatives are not, like elsewhere, intensifying and to be understood in comparison with the female type]. The Anonymous Latin begins his treatise with a differentiation between the masculine and the feminine, specifying: “Quod non ea ratione accipiendum est qua naturaliter sexus et genera discreta sunt, sed ut plerumque etiam in feminino masculinum genus et in masculino femininum deprehendatur” (*De Physiognomonia liber* 1981 [2003], 51) [This must not be understood in the way in which we distinguish the natural sexes and genders, but in a general way in which one finds male traits in a woman and female traits in a man]. The Anonymous Latin’s description of the face is missing; the red colour of the skin in the physiognomic treatise distinguishes the eyes of the Archpriest’s highland woman, a fact which is perhaps explained through the transmission of the text.

a very bold or dark red, but marked in red, the eyes quite sunken, threatening, grey ... or blue-green.]

I cannot, and do not wish to, analyse here all the possible meanings that physiognomic studies attribute to the physical characteristics of the Archpriest and of other characters in the *Book of Good Love*. Regardless of how much one searches and compares literary text with scientific treatises, a homogenous meaning cannot be constructed. Neither does the inventory of character types, which is spread by way of pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy, help to clarify things. A comparison of his physical aspect with the “Signa luxurioso” [Signs of the lascivious] – “qui est albi coloris et pilosus, rectis capillis et grossis et nigris, et tempora pilosa, oculus pinguis et insanus”⁴² [who is of white colour and hairy, with straight and thick black hair and hairy temples, fat and insane eyes] shows that the character of the archpriest was not conceived of as a prototype of the voluptuous man as it was depicted in the study of physiognomy attributed to the Stagirite.

As Dunn accurately recalls with reference to the *Secretum secretorum* and to Vincent de Beauvais, the interpretive practice of physiognomy must not be based on only one sign, rather it must be tackled via the study of the set: “It is excessively clear, from this array of features, that we must respect the prime injunction of the physiognomist, to judge as a whole, and not by one sign alone” (1970: 86). Furthermore, Agrimi observes, the proper judgment depends on the combination and hierarchy of the bodily signs:

La natura dell'uomo va colta e ricostruita attraverso la mediazione di una pluralità di segni di valore diverso, di correlazioni particolari, che non hanno più la proprietà di automanifestarsi.⁴³

[The nature of mankind is to be understood and reconstructed through the mediation of a plurality of signs with different value, particular correlations which have no longer the power to manifest themselves.]

As is plainly seen, no clear interpretation is to be gleaned from all this information. One might think that, by way of compiling bodily signs, often contradictory, Juan Ruiz wanted to draw attention to the questionable heuristic value of this semiotic practice and the problem of legibility of the human body and of the world.

⁴² Förster (1893, I, 31).

⁴³ Agrimi (2001, 119).

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The Problematic Competences of the Female Rogue: *La Lozana Andaluza* and *La pícara Justina*

La Lozana Andaluza and *La pícara Justina* offer models of conduct in situations of crisis. These works particularly lend themselves to analysing how literary characters find alternative solutions thanks to their ingenuity. And it is especially noteworthy that they are women characterised by their sharp insight, the gift of the word, and a series of heterogeneous competences to which I want to pay particular attention. The authors of both texts – Francisco Delicado and Francisco López de Úbeda –¹ have medical education and (especially the former) can be circumscribed to an attitude typical of the so-called medical humanism. This may explain the interest and the ironic vision of a series of practices related to medicine, natural philosophy, and the divination arts.

a) The *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* (1528), and Knowledge

The *Retrato de la Lozana Andaluza* [Portrait of Lozana: The Lusty Andalusian Woman], published anonymously around 1528 in Venice, is not a picaresque novel but rather a generically hybrid work that relates as much to the so-called celestinesque as it does to the feminine picaresque.² This dialogued novel, if we wish to call it that, tells the life journey of a beautiful and intelligent woman³

1 Regarding the authorship of the text, see the introduction of the recent edition by Mañero Lozano (2012, 30–53), with the state of the arts updated. I will not enter into this debate here, but due to the results of my analysis, I support the choice of a doctor as the author of the text.

2 See my introduction to the edition of *La Lozana Andaluza* (2013, LXVIII). I will quote from this edition, citing the chapter and page between parentheses and from the English translation of Damiani (1987).

3 The references to the intelligence of the protagonist are numerous: “Muncho más sabía la Lozana que no mostraba, y viendo yo en ella muchas veces manera y saber que bastaba para cazar sin red, y enfrenar a quien mucho pensaba saber, sacaba lo que podía, [...]” (*Argumento*, 10) [And this tale will show that Lozana knew a great deal more than she revealed. I could see that she had the guile to hunt without a trap and to stop those who thought themselves wise in their tracks, and I took what I could for my account ..., Damiani 1987, 5]; “La señora Lozana fue natural compatriota de Séneca, y no menos en su inteligencia y resaber, la cual desde su niñez tuvo ingenio y memoria y vivez grande” (I, 13) [Lozana was a compatriot of Seneca, and she was no less wise and intelligent than he. Beginning in her childhood, she had a sharp wit, enormous memory and a ready mind, Damiani 1987, 6] and “[...] y como veían que a la señora Aldonza no le faltaba nada, que sin maestro tenía ingenio y saber, y notaba las cosas mínimas por saber y entender las grandes y arduas, holgaban de ver su elocuencia; y a todos sobrepujaba, de modo

who, after having travelled with her first husband, an Italian merchant, across the Mediterranean, finds herself alone and without means in Rome.⁴ However, she is perfectly conscious of the advantage that her knowledge affords her – she says: “Yo sé mucho; si agora no me ayudo en que sepan todos mi saber, será ninguno”⁵ [I know a great deal; if I don’t further my cause by letting everyone know of my wisdom, it will all go for nothing]; and elsewhere she observes: “Mirá, vuestro saber no vale si no lo mostráis que lo sepa otrie”⁶ [Look, your knowledge has no value if you don’t show it off so that someone else knows about it, too]. To make others realise that you know – this is her strategy of self-promotion, which she continues to perfect and develop, even transforming it into a parody of Aristotelianism:

Señor Salomón, sabé que cuatro cosas no valen nada, si no son participadas o comunicadas a menudo: el placer, y el saber, y el dinero, y el coño de la mujer, el cual no debe estar vacuo, según la filosofía natural.⁷

[Sir Solomon, you should know that four things are worthless if they aren’t shared or communicated right away: pleasure, knowledge, money, and a woman’s cunt which shouldn’t be unoccupied, according to natural philosophy.]

The self fashioning of Lozana does not consist only in sharing her knowledge and making it public, but also in attaining the distinction of being considered the best and wisest in her field: “Así que, si tengo de hacer este oficio, quiero que se diga que no fue otra que mejor lo hiciese que yo. ¿Qué vale a ninguno lo que sabe si no lo procura saber y hacer mejor que otrie?”⁸ [And if this work is to be my lot, I want it said that no other woman did it better than I. What

que ya no había otra en aquellas partes que en más fuese tenida, y era dicho entre todos de su lozanía, así en la cara como en todos sus miembros” (VIII, 20) [His guests could all see that Aldonza wanted for nothing, and that without a teacher her wit and wisdom separated the wheat and the chaff and probed human knowledge deeply, and they loved to hear her speak. Aldonza surpassed them all, and no woman could be found in that land who was held in greater esteem. And the elegance of her face and body was the subject of conversation with everyone, Damiani 1987, 13].

4 “Andar, siempre oí decir que en las adversidades se conocen las personas fuertes. ¿Qué tengo de hacer? Haré cara, y mostraré que tengo ánimo para saberme valer en el tiempo adverso” (Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XL, 2013, 204) [Well, at least I’ve always heard it said that in hard times strong-willed persons come to the fore. What should I do? I’ll stand my ground and show them that I have what it takes to put them in their place, Damiani 1987, 179].

5 Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* V (2013, 25), translation Damiani (1987, 16).

6 Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* LXI (2013, 304), translation Damiani (1987, 260).

7 Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* LXI (2013, 304–305), translation Damiani (1987, 260).

8 Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* LXI (2013, 212), translation Damiani (1987, 184).

good is it to have knowledge if you don't put it to worthwhile use?]. To obtain this consideration, it is necessary to simulate the way Lozana teaches her husband and her son, Rampín, saying:

¡Mirá qué gana tenéis de saber y aprender! ¿Cómo no miraríades como hago yo?, que estas cosas quieren gracia y la melecina ha de estar en la lengua, y aunque no sepáis nada, habéis de fingir que sabéis y conocéis para que ganéis algo, como hago yo, que en decir que Avicena fue de mi tierra, dan crédito a mis melecinas.⁹

[Now look here! What you need is the urge to learn about my work. Why don't you watch me? These things require skill. and the best medicine you have is a clever tongue. Even if you don't know a thing about what you're doing, you must appear wise, so that you 'll be paid for your effort. That's what I always do. When I tell them that Avicenna was from my native country, that gives them confidence in the medicine I prescribe.]

This quotation is relevant for more than one reason, and it interests me in relation to the problematic wisdoms of the protagonist. Speaking with the author of her portrait, Lozana demonstrates her extremely diverse competences,¹⁰ which allow her to make a living:

Yo sé ensalmar y encomendar y santiguar cuando alguno está aojado, que una vieja me vezó, que era saludadera y buena como yo. Sé quitar ahitos, sé para lombrices,¹¹ sé encantar la terciana, sé remedio para la quartana y para el mal de la madre. Sé cortar frenillos de bobos y no bobos, sé hacer que no duelan los riñones y sanar las renes y sé ensolver sueños, sé conocer en la frente la fisionomía y la quiromancia en la mano, y prenosticar.¹²

[I know how to cure by spells and by making the sign of the cross over someone who has been bewitched by the evil eye, for an old crone who was as good a practitioner as I am now taught me. I know how to cure acute indigestion; I can cure worms; I know how to charm tertiary fevers away; I have remedies for quartan fever and for ills peculiar to mothers; I know how to cure tongue-tied fools and less than fools as well; I know how to restore kidneys and take away their pain; I can treat disease of both men and women; I know how

⁹ Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XXVI (2013, 134–137), translation Damiani (1987, 119).

¹⁰ Regarding the feminine competences in *La Lozana Andaluza*, see Fourquet-Reed (2004, 105): “Delicado intenta mostrar la personalidad y psicología de la Lozana como personaje fuerte, con características que se identifican más con el masculino que con el femenino y lo hace siguiendo un patrón definido de acuerdo con los conceptos del carácter de la época basada en la teoría de los humores hipocráticos” [Delicado tries to show the personality and psychology of Lozana as a strong character, with traits that are more identifiable with the masculine than with the feminine, and he does so by following a set pattern in accordance with concepts of personality of that time, based on the theory of Hippocratic humours].

¹¹ For the curing of worms in literature, see Valvassori (2006).

¹² Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XLII (2013, 215), translation Damiani (1987, 187–188).

to cure deafness, and I can interpret dreams; I know how to read the bumps on a forehead and the palm of a hand and predict the future as well.]

In this list is a mix of knowledges of various natures – magic, medical and divinatory – as first are the different remedies against the evil eye, which were used by healers, very often women, but which were also worthy of a certain scientific interest, as is confirmed in some Renaissance medical treatises on the topic published by Jacobo Sanz Hermida (2001). This is followed by an enumeration of diseases and ailments – indigestion, the ailment of parasites in the intestine, the different types of fever, and pains of the womb and of the kidneys – that Lozana can cure, in addition to handling circumcision. It is fitting that she uses the word “encantar” [to bewitch] when speaking of her therapy against tertiary fever. To this point, Delicado presents us with a female healer who claims to have knowledge spread through popular culture and evokes an imaginary construct similar to that of the *Celestina*. The second woodcut of the only known edition of *La Lozana Andaluza* shows the protagonist surrounded by people in a room evocative of the famous ‘laboratorio de Celestina’ [laboratory of Celestina]. Like her famous forbearer, Lozana is characterised throughout her depiction by a series of typically celestinesque arts, like the production of all sorts of cosmetics, the ability to “hacer virgos” (restore virginity), and rhetoric¹³ as the indispensable art of the intermediary. But there is more: I recall that, from the title of his portrait, Delicado claims to have emulated the *Tragicomedia* (“el cual retrato demuestra lo que en Roma pasaba, y contiene muchas más cosas que la *Celestina*” [showing what happened in Rome and containing a great deal more than *La Celestina*]). As for the characters, one perceives the emulation of said model through an entire series of faculties that distinguish the protagonist and are the aforementioned divination arts. These are primarily the interpretation of dreams (“ensolver sueños”),¹⁴ then physiognomy, and more precisely metoposcopy, that is to say, the art of divining the future via the lines of the forehead (“sé conocer en la frente la fisionomía” [I know how to recognise physiognomy in the forehead]), chiromancy, and predictive astrology (“prenosticar” [prognosticate]).¹⁵

Lozana shares this kind of knowledge with the *comare* [go-between] of Pietro Aretino, the intermediary who shows, in the last of the dialogues of the *Sei gior-*

¹³ Regarding rhetoric in the *Lozana*, see the chapter “Elocuencia y papel público” [Eloquence and the public role] in Fourquet-Reed (2004, 115–128).

¹⁴ For this interpretive practice in *La Lozana Andaluza*, I refer to the studies of Acebrón Ruiz (1994), Joset (1995) and Vila (2001, 61–68).

¹⁵ See Gernert (2013).

nate, her art to the Balía [wet-nurse]. After speaking about auguries, the *comare* presents a panorama of her wisdom, which sounds familiar to us; she says:

Faccio anco professione di dar la ventura con altro garbo che non hanno i zingani nel guardare la palma de la mano; e che ladri pronostichi che io faccio nel conoscere de le filosofie; e non si trova male che io non guarisca e con parole e con ricette, né sì tosto mi dice altrui “Io ho il tal male”, che io gli do il cotal rimedio: e santa Pollonia non ha tanti boti attaccati ai piedi, quante ho talvolta io richieste per il duol dei denti.¹⁶

[I am also a professional of foreseeing the good venture more politely than the gypsies do by looking in the palm of your hand; and I make such wonderful predictions by knowing somebody's physiognomy; and there is no illness I cannot cure either with words or with recipes. And if somebody tells me: “I suffer from this illness” I immediately give him some kind of remedy. And Saint Apollonia does not have as many votes stuck to her feet as I have requests to cure a toothache.]

It is noteworthy that it is women, and moreover socially marginalised women, who are the bearers of this kind of wisdom, which is beyond the reach of classic male picaresque figures such as Lazarillo, Guzmán or Pablos de Segovia. Only in the following century do there appear dramatic characters who are in possession of this type of knowledge.¹⁷ Henceforth, I wish to focus on another picaresque woman who uses her (occult) knowledge to overcome problematic situations.

b) The Competences of *La Pícará Justina* (1605) by López de Úbeda

Ensuing the massive success of the *Guzman de Alfarache*, the *Libro de entretenimiento de la pícará Justina* [Book of Entertainment of Justine the Rogue] is published in 1605 in Medina del Campo. It involves a very complex text, and one difficult to read, in which the autobiographism of the picaresque genre is – according to Francisco Rico (1970 [1982], 118) – an “absurdo postizo” [absurd façade] and Justine herself a “figura de incoherencia casi escandalosa” (1982 [1970], 119) [figure of almost scandalous incoherence]. In fact, the voice of the narrator gets confused with that of its creator, and as a result we have neither the sort of self-consciousness of character-narrator that distinguishes Guzmán, nor the type of reflections about her own way of being and her cultural capital as we find in the dialogue in *Lozana*. The importance of Justine's picaresque knowledge is underlined in the *redondillas con su estribo* [quatrains with their

¹⁶ Aretino, *Sei giornate* II, 3 (1969 [1975], 297).

¹⁷ See Magnaghi (2014) for the occult knowledge of students in Lope.

refrain] at the beginning of the second chapter of the first book, with an alchemistic metaphor:

Mas, ¿cuál será Justina,
cuál su ciencia,
que es de tantos enredos
quinta esencia?¹⁸

[Also, what will Justine be,
what her science,
which, tangled so,
is fifth essence?].

I do not want to speak of Justine's jibes, tricks, and hoaxes; instead I want to centre on hermetic knowledges that she shares with Lozana.¹⁹ The references to the divination arts in *La pícaro Justina* are constant. In the self-portrait that Justine sends to Guzmán de Alfarache, she is characterised as “adevinadora”²⁰ [a diviner], and in the famous metafictional discourse that she directs to her pen she says:

Así que, de haberse atravesado este pelo, y de lo que yo alcanzo, por la judicaria picaral, colijo para conmigo que mi pluma ha tomado lengua, aunque de borra, para hablarme.²¹

[And so, having run it through this hair, and as far as I can surmise through picaresque divination, I deduce that my pen has acquired a tongue, albeit that of a lamb, to speak to me.]

Elsewhere she considers the fact of having stained her skirt as being a “mal pronóstico”²² [bad omen]. There are also abundant references to astrology²³, to

18 López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* I, 2 (2012, 310). I will quote this work from the edition of Mañero Lozano.

19 In his letter to Justine, the astute Marcos Méndez Pavón mentions the “buena filosofía natural – la cual vos sabéis ya muy bien, atento que profesáis mucho los movimientos sentibles de que ella trata –” (López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* II, ii, 3, 2012, 640) [good natural philosophy – which you know very well, I posit that you follow closely the sensitive movements of which it speaks –].

20 López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina Preliminares* (2012, 193); elsewhere it says: “Ya pensará alguno que soy agorera, y tengo tanto de eso como de ermitaña” (*Preliminares*, 2012, 251) [Some will think that I am a soothsayer, and I am as much that as I am a hermit].

21 López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina Preliminares* (2012, 201).

22 *Preliminares*, 230; see also “–Moza, abre esas ventanas, que, según me yerve de concetos esta cholla, no hay papel en casa de Anica la papelera, ni tinta en los tinteros, para comenzar a discantar los alegres pronósticos que me anuncia para en este caso la culebrilla, cuyo temor he rendido con la memoria de lo que tengo de escribir a este propósito” (*Preliminares*, 252) [Girl,

the planetary children²⁴ and – of greatest interest to me – to physiognomy²⁵. I want to mention a few episodes in which Justine deciphers the bodily signs of other characters: Describing the “primer pretendiente mío” [my first suitor], she interprets his “cabeza chica, que parecía porra de llaves” (IV, 1, 909) [small head, which seemed like a club of keys] as a “señal de poco seso” [sign of little brains]. This easy analogy between the size of the head and one’s intellectual capacity can be found in a few physiognomic manuals, as for example in the *Liber phisonomie* by Michael Scott, which was translated into Spanish at the end of the fifteenth century: in the *Capítulo IX. De los señales de la complexión del cerebro* [Chapter IX: On the signs of the complexion of the brain], it says: “La cabeça pequeña naturalmente tiene pequeño cerebro” [The small head naturally has a small brain]. In the section dedicated to the meaning of the different types of heads, we read:

open those windows, because, as this shack has me boiling over with ideas, there is no paper in the house of Anica the paper-maker, nor ink in the inkwells, to begin to spill forth the happy predictions announced to me in this case for the little serpent, the fear of whom I have relinquished with the memory of what I have to write to this end].

23 See, e.g., I, 1, 269 (“Nació Justina Díez, la pícara, el año de las nacidas, que fue bisesto, a los seis de agosto, en el signo Virgo, a las seis de la boballa” [Justina Díez, the trickster, was born the year of those born, which was a leap year, the 6th of August, in the sign of Virgo, at six in the afternoon]) and I, 1, 286 (“¿Y para eso pone en cabeza de mayorazgo que nació en el signo Virgo, olvidándose que aquella hora hubo eclipsi entre Virgo y Capricornio, y quedó Virgo de lodo?”) [And is that why it is put on the head of the first-born, born under the sign of Virgo, forgetting that at that hour there was an eclipse between Virgo and Capricorn, and Virgo was left to dust?].

24 See the *Plática de Pero Grullo*: “La circunstancia del tiempo, si queréis mirarlo, me da a entender que, pues nació debajo del amparo de la estrella de Venus, me ha de ser propicio el dios de amor, su hijo, y el alba de mi Justina” (II, i, 2, 505) [The circumstance of time, if you want to look at it, leads me to understand that, she was born under the refuge of the star of Venus, who must be the propitious god of love, his son, and the dawn of my Justina].

25 In this context, I am not interested in the descriptions of characters based on physiognomic knowledge, as for example the portrait of the protagonist at the beginning of the “Prólogo sumario de ambos los tomos de *La Pícara Justina*” [Summary Prologue of Both Volumes of *La Pícara Justina*]: “Justina fue mujer de raro ingenio, feliz memoria, amorosa y risueña, de buen cuerpo, talle y brío; ojos zarcos, pelinegra, nariz aguileña y color moreno” (*Preliminares*, 188) [Justina was a woman of rare wit, good memory, loving and smiling, of healthy body, size, and energy; light blue eyes, raven-haired, sharp-nosed and brown-skinned]. Mañero Lozano mentions in the annotation of his edition to the *Discurso de los tufos* (1639, 56) by Bartolomé Jiménez Patón (“es bien que advirtamos que Aristóteles en su Fisonomía dize que el cabello negro es señal de buen entendimiento” [we do well to advise that Aristotle, in his Physiognomy, says that black hair is a sign of good understanding]) in order to explain the significance of hair colour. Unresolved is the matter of checking the prosopography of the text with the physiognomic manuals being used in the time of López de Úbeda, who probably consulted the edition of the pseudo-Aristotelian work of fellow doctor Andrés Laguna.

La cabeça pequeña, que tiene la garganta delgada y lengua, significa hombre muy flaco, indiscreto, de poco mantenimiento, doctrinable y no bien afortunado.²⁶

[The small head, having a long, thin throat, denotes a very feeble man, indiscreet, unmaintained, impressionable and not very fortunate.]

In *La pícaro Justina*, the relationship with physiognomic discourse is made more evident in the depiction of her husband:

Era algo calvo, señal de desamorado; ojos chicos y perspicaces, señal de ingenioso, alegre y sobrino de Venus; nariz afilada, que es de prudentes; boca chica con frente rayada, que es indicio de imaginativos; corto de cuello, que es señal de miserables; espalda ancha, de valiente; hollábase bien, más de punta que de talón, que es señal de celoso; no tenía un cornado, señal de pícaro y efeto de pobre.²⁷

[He was somewhat bald, a sign of coldheartedness; small, shrewd eyes, a sign of cleverness, happy, and a nephew of Venus; a sharp nose, which the prudent have; a small mouth and lined forehead, which is an indicator of being imaginative; short-necked, which is a sign of being miserable; wide back, signifying strength; he had a firm step, with toe more than with heel, which is a sign of jealousy; he did not have a farthing, the sign of a rogue and the consequence of being poor.]

It is not easy to identify the specific manual to which a text refers when relating the physical appearance of a character with their personality. One could think of the *Libro de phisonomia natural, y varios secretos de naturaleza* by Jerónimo Cortés, which was first published in 1598, in Madrid and in Valencia simultaneously, and which enjoyed great success.²⁸ I cite, in the Valencia edition of 1598, what this manual confirms with regard to some of the physical features mentioned and interpreted by Justine:

Los que tienen los ojos muy pequeños y redondos acostumbran ser flacos de complisión y de ingenio, simples, vergonzosos y fáciles en el creer, pero liberales, aunque de áspera y contraria fortuna.²⁹

[Those that have very small, round eyes tend to be thin in both, complexion and wit, simple, shy and gullible, but generous, though of bitter and adverse fortune.]

os que tienen la boca pequeña, son pacíficos, modestos, leales, secretos, medrosos, templados y vergonzosos.³⁰

²⁶ See the edition by Sánchez González de Herrero & Vázquez de Benito (2009, w/o pages).

²⁷ López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* IV, 1 (2012, 947–948).

²⁸ Amaranta Saguar published a critical edition in electronic format: <http://hispanistik.univ-trier.de/v-machine/JeronimoCortes/FisonomiaNatural.xml> (7 March 2019).

²⁹ Cortés (1598, IV, 12).

³⁰ Cortés (1598, VI, 16).

[Those that have a small mouth are peaceful, modest, loyal, secretive, timid, mild-tempered and shy.]

Los que tienen el cuello corto son astutos, avarientos y secretos, son constantes, airados y discretos; suelen ser también ingeniosos y amadores de la paz y quietud.³¹

[Those that have short necks are sly, greedy and secretive, they are tenacious, irritable and cautious; they also tend to be witty, and lovers of peace and calm.]

Los que tienen las espaldas anchas y recias son fuertes, de mucho trabajo y sufrimiento; suelen ser avaros, leales y amigos de paz y quietud.³²

[Those that have wide, sturdy backs are strong from much toil and suffering; they tend to be miserly, loyal, and friends to peace and calm.]

As we can easily appreciate, the details do not agree, but the discursive structure and order of enumeration certainly do. It clearly does not deal with making a serious inventory of these forms of knowledge, but it is rather a playful textualization.³³

The burlesque treatment of the art of reading bodily signs is more than obvious in the description of the ugliness of the innkeeper Sancha,³⁴ which the au-

³¹ Cortés (1598, XVI, 24).

³² Cortés (1598, XVII, 24).

³³ See also the conceptist reference to the reading of bodily signs in the description of a scholar who plays with Genesis 4, 15: “Y quiso su ventura que, en aquel breve rato que me hizo la salutación, le eché de ver una señal, y aun señales, por donde no le podían desconocer, que estos bellacones son los Caínes del mundo, que andan vagamundos y traen señal para que todos les conozcan y nadie les mate, porque quiere Dios que no tengan tan honrados verdugos como manos de hombres, sino que sus pecados lo sean. Las señales que en el rostro tenía, eran dos juanetes, que podían ser hijos del Preste Juan – que yo supongo que los hijos del Preste Juan se llaman Preste Juanetes –” (López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* II, ii, 1, 569) [And his fortune willed that, in that brief moment in which he greeted me, I saw a sign from him, and more signs, whereby he could not be disregarded, that these rogues are the Cains of the world, who walk as vagabonds and are marked so that all should know them and no one kill them, for God desires that they have not such honourable executioners as the hands of men, but that it be their sins. The signs he had in the face were two bunions that could be sons of the priest John – because I suppose that the son of priest John is called priest Bunions (Note of the translator: Word-play based on the homonymy of Spanish *juanete* that means bunion and is as well the diminutive form of the name Juan or John in English)].

³⁴ “Nariz roma, que parecía al gigante negro. Los labios como de brocal de pozo, gruesos y raídos, como con señal de sogas. Los ojos chicos de yema y grandes de clara. Gran escopidora, que, si comenzaba a arrancar, arrancaba los sesos desleídos en forma de gargajos. Tenía dos lunares en las dos mejillas, tan grandes, que entendí eran botargas untadas con tinta” (López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* II, iii, 2, 758–759) [Snub nose, which looked like the black giant. Lips like the parapet of a well, thick and worn, as with the look of rope. The eyes had small irises and large

thor correlates to her personality: “Parecía ella, por cierto, en la sodomía del rostro, no muy avisada, aunque para su cuento nada boba y menos descuidada”³⁵ [She seemed, incidentally, from the sodomy of her face, a bit indiscrete, though in her way, not at all stupid or careless]. The term ‘sodomy’ is, as offered in evidence by Julio Alonso y Puyol, the first modern editor of the text, a “disparate puesto de intento por *fisonomía*” (1912, III, 239)³⁶ [a nonsense word used instead of *physiognomy*]. The incoherence of the narrative voice allows us to interpret this joke in different ways, if it isn’t a matter of a simple error: it could be that the author is laughing so much at the expense of his character that he gets confused upon using highbrow terms. This would be further evidence of the misogynistic quality attributed to the work in criticism.³⁷ But it could also be that López de Úbeda, using the name of a punishable sexual practice, wanted to demean, in mocking fashion, physiognomy and its scientific validity. One could think, as much with *La Lozana andaluza* as with *La pícaro Justina*, that the fact that these bearers of hermetic knowledge are marginalised women would discredit this kind of knowledge, whose status changes in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lack of space does not allow me to go into this

whites. She spit a great deal, which, when she started up, she would cough out her dissolved brains in the form of phlegm. She had two moles on both cheeks that were so big, I thought they were fish roe spread over with dye]. See the last chapter of the physiognomic section of the book by Cortés (1598): *Capítulo último. De la correspondencia que tienen las pecas o lunares del rostro con las demás partes del cuerpo* [Final chapter. On the correspondence between freckles or moles of the face and other parts of the body] for the significance of moles, which in *La pícaro Justina* are considered, even in a mocking way, divine inscriptions on the human body: “— ¡Hola Araujo! No me hinchas las narices, que por esta señal que Dios aquí me puso (y era un lunar), y por aquella luz que salió por boca del ángele, y por el pan, que es cara de Dios, que esa tu cara te sarje” (López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* II, iii, 2, 772) [Hello, Araujo! You do not bother me, as by this sign given to me by God (and it was a mole), and by that light which emanated from the mouth of the angel, and through bread, which is the face of God, who should carve that face of yours].

35 López de Úbeda, *La pícaro Justina* II, iii, 2 (2012, 759).

36 Unlike other modern editors – Rey Hazas (1977, 553) or Torres (2010, 640) – Mañero Lozano (2012, 759, note 11) recovers the explanation by Alonso and Puyol aptly noting: “sodomía: léase ‘fisonomía’” [sodomy: read ‘physiognomy’]. Let it be mentioned in passing that the contemporary French translation renounces this play on words: “Les anneaux de ses mains estoient des verues aussi grosses que des pruneaux; elle avoit le nez camus comme une more, les lèvres grosses, noires, fendues et renversées, les yeux éraillés et chassieux et si grande cracheuse que quand elle commençoit à arracher ses crachats de leur racine, elle tiroit sa cervelle délayée en flegmes. Bref, par la spéculative et contemplative de sa mine, on jugeoit qu’elle n’estoit pas des plus mdrées du monde, combien que pour son conte et pour son profit, elle ne fust point sotté” (1636, 458–459).

37 See, among others, Rey Hazas (2009).

in more detail, and so I would like to finish with another thought that redirects us to the topic of crisis. It is logical, in times of general insecurity, that there be an increase in concern among human beings to find out the future³⁸ and rely on all manner of quackery. Lozana and Justina, who are no strangers to things human, take advantage of this credulity among their fellow people in order to come out ahead and conquer their own life crisis. I do not venture to compare them with today's credit rating agencies, which seek to decipher infallible signs scientifically... discretion is the better part of valour.

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Predictive Astrology: From King Alcaraz to *La Lozana Andaluza*

When a son is born to King Alcaraz, five astrologers develop a horoscope and foretell five different ways in which he will die violently: stoned, burnt, thrown from a cliff, hanged, and drowned. As is well known, the prince dies in such an outlandish way that the five predictions turn out to be true (*Libro de buen amor* 130–138).¹ The story is introduced with a reflection that insists on the validity of astrology, citing the authority of Ptolemy and Plato:

Los antiguos astrólogos disen en la sçiençia
de la astrología una buena sabiençia,
qu'el omen quando nasce luego en su nasçençia
el signo en que nasce le jusgan por sentençia.

Esto dis' Tholomeo, e díselo Platón,
otros muchos maestros en este acuerdo son:
quál es el asçendente e la costelación
del que nasce, tal es su fado et su don.²

[Those ancient wights who read the stars and secret meanings saw,
Maintain in their astrologies this universal law
That planets o'er the lives of men some occult influence draw
Which from the cradle sweeps them on as current sweep a straw.

So Plato thought, and Ptolemy in other times afar
While many learned masters now of this opinion are;
In truth, it seems when one is born beneath some rising star
That planet rules his life and will his fortunes make or mar.]

After demonstrating, by way of the *exemplum* of the son of King Alcaraz, how a horoscope draws accurate conclusions about a person's future, the Archpriest refutes astral determinism:

Yo creo los astrólogos verdad naturalmente;
pero Dios que crió natura e acidente,

¹ For possible sources of the story, see Castro Guisasola (1923), Crawford (1925), Knowlton (1973) and Lacarra (2006). As Ullmann duly observed, the episode unleashes a “first-person commentary on the validity of astrology” followed by “a discussion of the influence of the stars on the libido” (1964, 201).

² *Libro de buen amor* 123–124, edited by Blecua (1992, 41), compare also the Joset edition (1990, 131–133). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 24).

puédelos demudar, et faser otramente:
segund la fe católica, yo d'esto só creyente.³

[Those mystic, starry characters, illegible and dim,
I do believe the secrets hold of God, but since by Him
The world was made, He, too, can wreck it, should He take the whim;
All this is Catholic doctrine which I hold with zealous vim.]

Divine omnipotence is above the stars. God created the heavens and their celestial bodies, and therefore they may be interpreted as symbols of divine will, though the Creator reserved the right to intervene whenever he so wished.⁴ Thus man has the possibility of attaining divine protection against astral pre-termination:

Ansí que por ayuno, e limosna, e oración,
et por servir a Dios con mucha contrición
non ha poder mal signo nin su costelación.
El poderío de Dios tuelle la tribulación.⁵

[Wherefore, by prayers and continence or passing up a meal
Or doling beggars pennies with a shrewd, stensive zeal,
A man can somehow dislocate stupendous heaven's wheel—
For what's a star or two to God when man begins to squeal?]

Without it being mentioned explicitly, the Archpriest introduces the concept of free will.⁶ Even though the narrator tells us that he lacks astrological knowledge (“Non sé astrología, nin só ende maestro, / nin sé astrolabio más que buey de cabestro”⁷ [In astrologic lore I am no master nor astute / I cannot read an astrolabe much better than a brute]), we must not believe that this has any merit for

3 *Libro de buen amor* 140 (1992, 45), compare also (1990, 137). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 29).

4 “Bien ansí nuestro señor Dios, quando el çielo crió, / puso en él sus signos, et planetas ordenó, / sus poderíos çiertos et juisios otorgó, / pero mayor poder retuvo en sí que les non dio” [So when our busy Lord engaged in stellar occupations / He figured out the movements of the separate constellations / And made each planet play its part in anthropoid relations / But made it clear He'd interfere with unjust operations], *Libro de buen amor* 148 (1992, 46), compare also (1990, 139). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 30).

5 *Libro de buen amor* 149 (1992, 46), compare also (1990, 139). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 31).

6 See Zahareas (1965a), Álvarez (1982) and Haywood (2008, 38–47).

7 *Libro de buen amor* 151 (1992, 47), compare also (1990, 139). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 31).

the author.⁸ As I pointed out elsewhere, having been born ‘in Venus’,⁹ is more than a mere justification of his love of women, a reference to the concept of planetary children, a theory on the relationship of the outside appearance and the nature of a person with the dominant planet at the moment of his or her birth.¹⁰

In the *Libro de buen amor*, the reach of predictive astrology in part becomes problematic from theological approaches to divine omnipotence and free will, while on the other hand, it is astral determinism that structures not only the story of King Alcaraz, but also the work on the macrostructural plane: The Archpriest, while a son of Venus, acts throughout the book in accordance with this planetary predetermination. We have, therefore, an elaborate construct, and one so contradictory that – *mutatis mutandis* – it is reminiscent of the discussion on the epistemological bases of astrology in *La Lozana Andaluza*. This work is filled with references to predictive astrology and other ways of knowing the future which require a historical contextualisation.

In his fundamental history of astrology, Eugenio Garin calls into question platitudes around the development of the modern sciences in the Renaissance, highlighting the mix of scientific ideas as magical, hermetic, and mystical matters:

In other words, while it is necessary to eliminate the idea that a complete rupture took place between modern astronomy and medieval astrology during the Renaissance, it is most important to be aware of the wide dissemination of astrological, magical and hermetic themes at the beginning of modern culture and their persistence everywhere in the most varied forms, not only in the images of art but also in the new science itself.¹¹

8 López-Baralt (1985) and (2005) tackles the Archpriest’s possible knowledge of Arabic astrology.

9 “Muchos naçen en Venus; que lo más de su vida / es amar las mugeres; nunca se les olvida; / trabajan et afanan mucho sin medida, / e los más non recabdan la cosa más querida. // En este signo atal creo que yo nascí, / siempre puñé en servir dueñas que conoçí, / el bien que me feçieron, non lo desgradeçí, / a muchas serví mucho, que nada acabesçí” [Some men are born in Venus’ sign and all their days aspire / To making love to females, doing all that girls require; / For them they fret and shame themselves and set their souls afire / Though few there be who gain the goal they secretly desire. // ‘Twas under such a sign I think I must have seen the light / Because I long for girls by day and lust for them at night, / Yet though I ne’er ungrateful was for favors how so slight, / And served a host of ladies, ne’er I seemed to come out right]. *Libro de buen amor* 152–153 (1992, 47), compare also (1990, 138–139). Translation by Kane (1933 [2005], 31). See the interpretations by Ullmann (1964, 204), Vicente García (1999, 340), Maldonado (2008, 267) and Gernert (2016).

10 Concerning the medieval tradition of the children of the planets, see Blume (2000).

11 Garin (1983, 6).

According to the Italian investigator, astrology is affected to a certain extent by this symbiosis of scientific and occult knowledge. As a result, the Renaissance controversy over the validity of astrology can be considered as an attempt to untangle this mixture of rational and irrational approaches:

In this sense, the Renaissance controversy about astrology is an exceptional historical experiment. Its events make up the difficult and fascinating story of a lively humanist inspiration, rich in moral force, and faith in reason, which tried to undo the impossible knot, in which were joined irrational instances and memories of archaic astral cults, dreams and chimeras, and which together conflicted with the requirements of high scientific significance.¹²

Kucko von Stuckrad, in turn, situates the so-called Renaissance apogee of astrology within a process of discursive reorganisation – the evolution of astrological science, which – according to Stuckrad – is symptomatic of the relationship between man and cosmos, individual and society, science and religion.¹³

Aldo Manuzio publishes, in 1499, an impressive volume with the title *Astro-nomica*, which unites astronomical and astrological knowledge¹⁴ of the ancients,

¹² Garin (1983, 14).

¹³ Kucko von Stuckrad (2003, 207–208): “Dennoch ist die Rede von der Blütezeit der Astrologie insofern berechtigt, als während der Renaissance entscheidende Veränderungen in Gesellschaft, Wissenschaft, Philosophie und Religion stattfanden, die in der europäischen Kulturgeschichte noch lange nachklingen sollten. Man kann geradezu von einer Neuformatierung des Diskurses sprechen, in deren Verlauf das Verhältnis zwischen Mensch und Kosmos, Individuum und Gesellschaft sowie zwischen Wissenschaft und Religion neu bestimmt wurde. Diese Veränderungen waren die notwendigen Voraussetzungen für das, was wir ‘Neuzeit’ und ‘Moderne’ nennen. Deshalb nenne ich diese Zeit eine Drehtür zur Moderne. Für alle genannten Kulturbereiche bildet die Astrologie einen zentralen Referenzpunkt [...]”. [It is legitimate to speak of an astrological apogee because during the Renaissance, decisive changes were produced in society, in the sciences, in philosophy, and in religion, that would continue to echo for a long time in the cultural history of Europe. One could even speak of a reformatting of discourse, in whose development the relationship between man and the cosmos, between individual and society, and also between science and religion, was redefined. These changes were the necessary conditions for the arrival of what we call the ‘Modern Age’ or ‘Modernity’. For this reason, I call this period a revolving door to Modernity. Astrology constitutes a central reference point for all aforementioned cultural fields ...].

¹⁴ As Garin observes (1983, 14), there was no great differentiation between both practices: “Pietro d’Abano and Ibn Ezra, Pomponazzi and Galilei: as one can see, the line of demarcation that humanism tried to trace between astronomy as a rigorous science capable of measuring celestial movements, and the astrology as the combination of a conception of the world, of astral cults and prophetic techniques was not only always in danger, but it came to show the untenability of the assumption. Myth revealed itself to be inseparable from reality, rigorous science from trans-

like Marcus Manilius or Julius Firmicus Maternus, although without the conceptions of Ptolemy, whose works were available in printed form since the 1480s.¹⁵ In spite of the reprobation of astrology written by the likes of Petrarch,¹⁶ Giovan Francesco Pico della Mirandola¹⁷ or Erasmus,¹⁸ Renaissance humanism does not always come across as reluctant or distrusting when confronted with this science.¹⁹ On the contrary, we can observe profound interest among scholars in the divination of the future, something which makes Gerl-Falkovitz actually speak of an 'era of the scientifically calculated future'.²⁰ The proliferation of almanacs, prognoses and predictions of every kind in the times of Francisco Delicado was such that it gave rise to parodies of prophetic practices throughout Europe,²¹ as much anonymously as by the hand of authors like Juan del Encina,²²

figurative fantasy, clear reason from turbid magic, religion from superstition, and finally mathematical calculi from the mysticism of numbers".

15 See the edition of the *Quadripartitum* or *Tetrabiblos* (Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1484) and the edition of *Almagestum* (Venice, Peter Liechtenstein, 1515). For the reception of the ancient authors, see Ludwig (2005, 16): "In seinem Interesse an der antiken Literatur rezipierte er [der Humanismus, F.G.] intensiv auch die astrologische Literatur der Antike, d.h. insbesondere Manilius, Firmicus Maternus, Ps.-Ptolomaios' *Centum Sententiae* und Ptolemaios, und er akzeptierte häufig auch die Aussagen dieser Autoren. Obwohl die griechisch-arabische Astrologie bereits im Mittelalter in Westeuropa eingedrungen war, kann angenommen werden, daß die Astrologie in der frühen Neuzeit und der Gegenwart keine solche Bedeutung erlangt hätte, wenn sie nicht in der Renaissance durch Humanisten akzeptiert und so Teil der Überzeugung der gebildeten und von da auch des Volkes geworden wäre". [As a result of his interest in ancient literature, he (Humanism, F.G.) paid a great deal of attention to the astrological works of Antiquity, that is to say particularly to Manilius, Firmicus Maternus, *The Centum Sententiae* attributed to Ptolemy, and to Ptolemy himself, accepting very often the theories of these authors. Although Greek and Arabic astrology penetrated Western Europe in medieval times, we might assume that astrology never could have gained such importance in early modern times and at present without the approbation of the humanists that permitted it to become part of the conviction of the erudite and, later, of normal people as well].

16 See Bergdolt (2005).

17 The *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* by Pico della Mirandola show how much commitment the humanist count gave to refuting astrologers' theses, see the edition of Garin (1946), as well as Remé (1934) and the collective volume edited by Bertozzi (2008).

18 Nesselrath (2005, 293–308) compiles the Dutchman's scattered declarations on astrology.

19 See also Garin (1983, XIV): "The discussion about astrology, which raged with such bitterness at the dawn of modern science, helps to put in focus the reciprocal relationship between visions of the world and researches which are specific and concrete, and, at the same time, the complex and ambiguous nature of the very same astrological positions".

20 Gerl-Falkovitz (1994, 182).

21 For the European scope of the phenomenon as suspected by Chevalier (1992, 74), see Koopmans (1997, 38–43), who presents a large corpus of French texts together with examples from other countries, not including Spain.

Pietro Aretino²³ or François Rabelais,²⁴ whose *Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533* begins:

Ceste année les aveugles ne verront que bien peu, les sourdz oyront assez mal: les muetz ne parleront guières: les riches se porteront un peu mieulx que les pauvres, & les sains mieulx que les malades.²⁵

[This year the blind are going to see very badly, and the deaf will not hear well; the dumb will hardly speak, the rich will fare better than the poor and healthy persons better than the sick.]

La Lozana Andaluza is interspersed with episodes and observations from the mouths of the characters which reveal an ironic attitude similar to that of Rabelais or Aretino. In chapter XLII, Lozana explains to the author that “para ganar de comer, tengo de decir que sé mucho más que no sé, y afirmar la mentira con ingenio por sacar la verdad”²⁶ [about earning enough to eat, I must say that know the subject better than most, and I handle each lie with extreme care in order to bring forth the truth]. The supposed competences of which she makes use for this purpose are, above all, oneirocriticism, but also predictive astrology, as the protagonist herself tells us:

Mirá el prenóstico que hice cuando murió el emperador Maximiliano, que decían quién será emperador. Dije: “Yo oí aquel loco que pasaba diciendo oliva de España, de España, de España”, que más de un año turó, que otra cosa no decían sino “de España, de España”. Y agora que ha un año que parece que no se dice otro sino “carne, carne, carne salata”, yo digo que gran carnicería se ha de hacer en Roma.²⁷

[Look at the prediction I made when Emperor Maximilian died. Others were wasting their time trying to figure out who the new emperor would be. I told the tale of the madman who dashed by crying out “To the glory of Spain! To the glory of Spain!” For more than a year all they said was that he would come from Spain. But now for more than a year all you hear is “Bloodshed! Bloodshed!”, and I can see clearly that Rome will be turned into one gigantic butcher shop.]

²² For the *Juicio sacado por Juan del Encina de lo más cierto de la astrología*, see García de Enterría and Hurtado Torres (1981)

²³ The text was edited by Luzio (1900) and Romano (1989) and studied by Agno (1961).

²⁴ See Screech (1974), Koopmans (1997) and Le Cadet (2008). For predictions in France, from the *Calendrier des Bergiers* up to the sixteenth century, see Hüe (1983).

²⁵ Rabelais, *Pantagrueline Prognostication pour l'an 1533* (1974, 11).

²⁶ Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XLII (2013, 217), translation Damiani (1982, 190).

²⁷ Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XLII (2013, 217), translation Damiani (1982, 190) and the study by Gernert (2013b, 49).

The death of Maximilian I of Habsburg on the 12th of January 1519, provoked an entire series of predictions about his possible successor. A manuscript by the astrologer Johannes Indagine still survives, in which the priest of Steinheim gathers detailed information about imperial elections after the triumph of Charles V. He tells, among many other things, how the Archbishop of Mainz, one of the electoral princes, had insisted to him on the 14th of February 1519, at 11:34, that he tell him which of the three most promising candidates – Francis I of France, Louis II of Hungary and Charles himself – would be the winner. Following a detailed description of the planetary constellations, Indagine draws a series of conclusions without ever once mentioning the name of the victor; he says that he is young and very handsome (“Hic quidem iuvenis, pulcher, humanus, affabilis, eloquens, in facie virgineus, planorum capillorum, pulchrorum oculorum” [He is assuredly young, handsome, refined, affable, eloquent, with the face of a virgin, straight hair and beautiful eyes]) and that he comes “ex orientalibus in regem” [from an oriental kingdom] on account of the dominance of the eastern planets of Mercury and Venus in houses IV and X.²⁸ Delicado mocks the use of this type of foresight. The signs from which Lozana draws conclusions about the future are intentionally petty: the announcement of Spanish olives in the market is interpreted arbitrarily as an omen of the election of the Spanish Emperor. In the same analogical way, the proclamation of ‘salted meat’ is interpreted as the bad omen of a particularly bloody and cruel event, which by these dates could only be the Sack of Rome. The references to this sacking of the Eternal City is one of the best-studied themes of *La Lozana*,²⁹ and for my purposes it is enough to remember an episode of chapter XV, in which Rampín and Lozana observe in Campo de’ Fiori a man who is preaching “cómo se tiene de perder Roma y destruirse el año del XXVII, mas dícelo burlando”³⁰ [about the loss and destruction of Rome in 1527, but he’s making a joke out of it]. As Niccoli correctly observed, the practice of prophecy in the times of Delicado was strictly linked with oral tradition:

La penetrazione di spunti profetici nella cultura e nella religiosità delle classe subalterne cittadine avveniva inoltre anche per un altro tramite, anch’esso legato all’oralità. Nelle stesse piazze in cui i cantambanchi declamavano storie di catastrofi e prodigi svolgevano infatti la loro predicazione romiti e profeti itineranti.³¹

²⁸ All quotations *apud* Herrmann (1934, 281).

²⁹ Regarding the prophecies of the destruction of Rome, see Niccoli (1987, 175–177) and, for allusions of a prophetic nature in *La Lozana*, my prologue to the cited edition of the work of Delicado (2013, LXXXVII–LXXXVIII).

³⁰ Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XV (2013, 71), translation Damiani (1982, 63).

³¹ Niccoli (1979, 511).

[The penetration of hints of prophetic thought in the culture and the religiosity of the subaltern classes in the cities happened furthermore by other means, linked as well to orality. In the same squares in which the ballad-singers presented their stories about catastrophes and prodigies, hermits and wandering prophets delivered their sermons.]

These prophets, mentioned by the Italian scholar, also populate Rome as narrated by Delicado, and the protagonist herself is one of them.

The interpretation of wonders, as much as the forewarning of catastrophes, are represented in *La Lozana*. They are once again fleeting allusions that reveal the sceptical attitude of the author. In chapter XXXI, Lozana says tersely: “yo me voy a la judería a hablar a Trigo, por ver la mula que parió, que qualque prenóstico es parir una mula en casa de un cardenal”³² [I’m going to the Jewish quarter to see if Trigo can take me to see the mule that gave birth. That’s a powerful omen: a mule giving birth in the home of a cardinal]. The interpretation of prodigious and monstrous births as divine messages about the future is a widespread practice in the times of Delicado.³³

In this sense, in *La Lozana andaluza* a second great flood, predicted for February of 1524, is mentioned in a way that expresses an attitude of disbelief toward similar predictions:

Divicia.– ¡Por tu vida y mía, que yo lo [el trigo, F.G.] vi hogaño echar en el río, y no sabía por qué!

Lozana.– Porque lo guardaron para el diluvio, que había de ser este año en que estamos, de mil e quinientos y veinte y cuatro, y no fue.³⁴

[DIVICIA. By your life and mine, I saw it thrown into the river just this year, and I didn’t know why!

³² Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* XXXI (2013, 160), translation Damiani (1982, 139).

³³ As Niccoli observes, the “creatura mostruosa, viva o imbalsamata, viene mostrata non solo perché è ‘cosa spaventevole’, ‘cosa stupenda’, ‘prodigio’, ma anche perché [...] è un segno” (1987, 50) [monstrous creature, alive or embalmed, was exhibited not only because it was a ‘terrifying thing’, a ‘stupendous thing’ and a ‘marvel’, but also because ... it was a sign]. Also see Ludwig (2005, 30): “Zu der von Gott erlaubten Prognostik aus den Zeichen der Natur gehört auch das zu beobachtende Verhalten bestimmter Tiere und Pflanzen und schließlich noch die Teratoskopie, d. h. im Gegensatz zu der zuvor reflektierten Beobachtung der üblichen natürlichen Vorgänge die Beobachtung neuartiger, ungewöhnlicher und dem normalen Verlauf der Natur zuwiderlaufender Ereignisse, die von Gott oder dem Engeln oder den Teufeln mit Erlaubnis Gottes produziert werden”. [To the forms of divination, from the signs of nature permitted by God, teratосcopy also belongs, that is to say ... the observation of novel events, unusual and contrary to the normal course of things, which are produced by God or by the angels, or by devils with divine permission.] See the bibliography compiled in Gernert (2013a).

³⁴ Delicado, *La Lozana Andaluza* LIIII (2013, 266), translation Damiani (1982, 228).

LOZANA. Because they kept it for the flood that was supposed to happen in this year, 1524, but didn't.]

The year 1524 is one of the few precise temporal indications in the book, and I do not believe it to be a coincidence that Delicado has chosen this historical event, which can be characterised as the first media event at the European level.³⁵

The foresights based on the theory of planetary conjunctions dates back to the Arab astrologer Albumasar of the ninth century. His work was translated into Latin in the twelfth century with the title of *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum revlutionibus aceorum projectionibus*, and it was widespread; it was printed for the first time in Augsburg in 1489³⁶ and from then on there were numerous editions, including one in Venice at the times of Francisco Delicado.³⁷ It was a much-debated text in Humanist circles during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁸ In his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) took it upon himself to refute the theses of Albumasar and those of his cohorts.³⁹ On the other hand, the Humanist Lorenzo Buonincontro (1410–ca. 1491), close friend of Giovanni Pontano and Marsilio Ficino, and specialist recognised in the work of the astrologer Marcus Manilius, studied it in his didactic poem *De rebus naturalibus et divinis*.⁴⁰

Departing from the theory of planetary conjunctions and the calculations of planetary positions, Johann Stöffler (1452–1531) and Jakob Pflaum († ca. 1450) in

³⁵ See Fischer (1988, 195–196), Zambelli (1986), Stuckrad (2003, 240), and Herrmann (2016, 115–116), as well as the database that compiles publications on the second great flood: <http://www.biblioastrology.com/it/Indici.aspx?Tipo=secondoDiluvio> (18 May 2017).

³⁶ See Heitzmann (2008, 24–25).

³⁷ *Introductorium in astronomiam Albumasaris abalachi octo continens libros partiales*, Venice, Melchiorre Sessa, 1506 and *Albumasar de magnis coniunctionibus annorum revolutionibus: aceorum projectionibus: octo continens tractatus*, Venice, Melchiorre Sessa, 1515.

³⁸ See Garin (1983, 19–20).

³⁹ See the *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, Book V, Chapter II, edited by Garin (1946, 527–539: “In che modo gli astrologi prevedevano i grandi eventi; confutazione dei grandi cicli” [The way in which astrologers predicted important events; confutation of the cycles] and ch. XI, edited by Garin (1946, 585–591 “Nella congiunzione del diluvio gli astrologi contraddicono se stessi e la verità, ed anche se si conceda loro quello che vogliono tuttavia non riescono a provare quello che vogliono” [In the conjunction of the flood the astrologers contradict themselves and the truth, and even if we grant them what they want, they are not able to prove what they want to]). See Vanden Broecke (2003, 55–77).

⁴⁰ See *De rebus natralibvs et divinis* by Lorenzo Buonincontro in the edition by Heilen (1999) and regarding the Humanist's prophecies, Heilen (2005, 9–64).

1499 published their *Ephemerides* for the years 1499 to 1531.⁴¹ In them, they predicted an important conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Pisces for February 1524. Astrologers, headed by Luca Gaurico (1476–1558), did not hesitate to interpret these data as an omen of a new flood that would submerge the whole world. Through printing, these omens were spread far and wide, and provoked a generalised hysteria among the population.⁴² Many of the illustrated broadsheets that are still preserved come from the German-speaking countries, such as the *Prognosticatio* by Johann Carion, 1521.⁴³ There were also critical voices, aimed at keeping panic from spreading. Also worthy of mention is Agostino Nifo (ca. 1473–1545), who in 1520 published a treatise titled *De falsa diluvii prognosticatione, quae ex conuentu omnium planetarum, qui in piscibus continget Anno. 1524*.⁴⁴ In the face of such apocalyptic fear among those who constructed arks and who took to hoarding food, we have record – thanks to the work of Niccoli (1982) – that there were also those demonstrated healthy scepticism. Niccolò Macchiavelli, for example, mentioned in a letter to Francesco Guicciardino, dated in May of 1521, the “diluvio che debbe venire” [the Deluge that is supposed to come] comparing it to “simili novelle da pancaccia”⁴⁵ [similar old wives’ tales], in other words, empty hearsay. In Rome, the carnival parade of 1524 chooses the flood as a theme. As the Venetian chronicler Marin Sanudo relates, there was a cart “che era l’arca di Noè ne la qual vi era una musica et cantavano significando era passato il diluvio, et gitavano fuori uccelli di l’arca” [that was Noah’s Ark in which there was music and singing that meant to signify that the Deluge was over and they were letting birds out of the ark]; another cart “era una barca che si preparava per fugir il diluvio”⁴⁶ [was a boat getting prepared to escape from the Deluge]. While the carnivalesque proceedings can also be interpreted

41 See Stuckrad (2003, 235), Vanden Broecke (2003, 82–83), who studies the debate in the Netherlands, and Heitzmann (2008, 81–82).

42 See also Zambelli (1982, 291–368) as well as Niccoli (1979, 506) and (1982).

43 For this, see Stuckrad (2003, 237–238) and Heitzmann (2008, 83–84), who also studies another document with the title *Neue Zeytung. Die würckung der Coniunction*, published in Augsburg circa 1522–1523 by Sigmund Grimm (80–81). For the German documents, see Talkenberger (1990).

44 See Grafton (1999, 93–99) and Stuckrad (2003, 240): “Cardanos Kollege Nifo sah sich angesichts der Tatsache, dass viele Italiener bereits anfangen, Archen zu bauen, ebenfalls zu einer gelehrten Widerlegung der Flutprophezeiung genötigt”. [Given the fact that many Italians started to build arks, Nifo, a colleague of Cardano, felt obliged to write an erudite confutation of the flood prophecy].

45 Machiavelli, *Epistolario*, edited by Bertelli (1969, 393). See Niccoli (1982, 371).

46 Sanudo (1879–1903, XXXV, 422–423), see also Niccoli (1982, 378–379).

as way to combat fear,⁴⁷ there are some literary texts that openly mock the situation. One Eustachio Celebrino⁴⁸ published a broadsheet with the title of *La dichiarazione per che non è venuto il diluvio del. M. D. xxiiij*, in which he remembers the collective panic and concludes:

Ma poi ch'el dì del tempestoso pluvio
spirato sia, ognun beffando l'arte
diran: "L'è gito in fumo el gran diluvio"⁴⁹

[But when the day of stormy rain
will have passed, everyone – laughing at the art –
will say: "the Deluge has disappeared"].

This is only one example that shows the humorous angle that went alongside the apocalyptic fear of the second great flood. This manner of laughing in the face of those who announced the end of the world explains and contextualises the laconic tone with which the failed flood is discussed in *La Lozana Andaluza*. Delicado's position toward predictive astrology is, however, just as unclear as that of the Archpriest of Hita. Against the examples of scepticism on which we have commented, we can read in one of the epilogues, the so-called *Epístola que añadió el autor el año de mil e quinientos e veinte e siete*:

No se puede huir a la Providencia divina, pues con lo sobredicho cesan los delincuentes con los tormentos, mas no cesarán sol, luna y estrellas de prenocitar la meritoria que cada uno habrá.⁵⁰

[No one can escape Divine Providence since the sinners were stopped by the aforementioned torments, but the sun, the moon, and the stars will not cease predicting the reward that each one will receive.]

This change in tone is evidently explained by the new vision of the world that has provoked the Sack of Rome, but it is also indicative of the plurality of contradicting points of view that are included in works like *La Lozana Andaluza* or

⁴⁷ See Niccoli (1982, 381), who observes: "Il carnevale e la festa valgono dunque come antidoti, "provisioni", all'astrologia, al diluvio, alla paura" [Carnival and feasts function as antidotes against astrology, the Deluge and fear].

⁴⁸ For this author, engraver, and possibly physician, see Morison (1929), Comelli (1969) and the article by Marco Palma in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 23 (1979) accessible online at www.treccani.it (17 May 2017).

⁴⁹ Celebrino, *La dichiarazione* (not before 1514: w/o pages [E2]) and, regarding this, Niccoli (1987, 369).

⁵⁰ Delicado *La Lozana Andaluza Epístola* (2013, 336–337), translation Damiani (1982, 285).

the *Libro de buen amor*, which deliberately confuse their readers and make them think.

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Miscellaneous Knowledge, Good and Bad, in a Book of Chivalry: the *Baldo* of 1542

In 1540, the printing house of Domenico de Robertis in Seville published the first edition of the *Silva de varia lección*,¹ a work that enjoyed enormous success, as evidenced by its large number of editions and translations. Two years after the *Silva* by Pedro Mexía in 1542, the same Domenico de Robertis prints a curious book of chivalry with the long title *El cuarto libro del esforzado caballero Reinaldos de Montalbán que trata de los grandes hechos del invencible caballero Baldo y de las graciosas burlas de Cíngar* [*The Fourth Book of the Zealous Knight Reinaldos de Montalbán which Concerns the Great Deeds of the Invincible Knight Baldo and the Comical Jibes of Cíngar*], a prose adaptation of the macaronic epic poem *Baldus* by Teofilo Folengo, combined with rewritings of Virgil's *Aeneid* and of the *Pharsalia* by Lucan, amplified by a great number of heterogeneous references from classical literature and also from the author's contemporaries, as well as materials from different fields of knowledge. The anonymous author of the *Baldo*, a man of mediocre literary talents, received a solid humanistic education and had an enormous intellectual curiosity, both of which virtues allow us to estimate which were the fields of knowledge that interested a man of letters in the first half of the sixteenth century in Spain, a matter as interesting *per se* as it is useful in defining the literary field in which the historical figure behind the anonymity of his work acts.

As it could not have been otherwise, these are first and foremost the classical authors whom he imitates in his chivalric narration and whom he repeatedly cites in the discursive parts, which address diverse aspects of the text; in these extradiegetic digressions, very much in the style of the moralistic commentaries that, years later, would inhabit the *Guzmán de Alfarache*, literal quotations, anecdotes, and sayings from Greek and Latin authors being interspersed. As with Mateo Alemán, the anonymous author of the *Baldo*, in his moralistic commentaries and 'translator's additions', in the style of an anthology, presents knowledge of a particular subject matter related to his own chivalric narration.² To offer an

1 For the concept of miscellany and the *Silva* by Mexía, see the works of García de la Torre (1983), Rallo Gruss (1984), Prieto (1986, 219–264), Rodríguez Cacho (1993), Blasco Pascual (1994), Alcalá Galán (1996), Cherchi (1998), Strosetzki (2003), Malpartida Tirado (2007) as well as Lee (2008).

2 Regarding structural heterogeneity in the novel by Mateo Alemán, Matzat observes: "[...] der in besonderem Maße von sozialen und moralischen Destabilisierungserfahrungen geprägte Lebensweg des Pícaro wird durch den Ich-Erzähler im Medium eines Diskurses dargeboten, der

example: after the fourth chapter – *Cómo Guidón sacó a Baldovina por los ver-geles de la reina y cómo, después de haber andado mucho, posaron en casa de un villano* [How Guidón took Baldovina out of the Queen's Gardens of Pleasure and How, After Having Walked a Great Deal, They Took Their Repose in the House of a Villain] – the anonymous author characterises the protagonist of the chapter as a man who cannot control his appetites and who gives in to 'mad love':

En este fuerte caballero Guidón pueden caer aquellas sentencias griegas: El varón no considerado se toma con los deleites por no mirar lo que se podría seguir de cumplir su voluntad.³

[Upon this strong knight, Guidón, may fall those Greek judgments: the inconsiderate man indulges in delights by not seeing what could be gained from fulfilling his will.]

At the next level, this *Translator's Addition* compiles an entire series of positions of classical authors, Greek as well as Latin, around the topic of carnal love and its dangers: he quotes, in this order, the *Book of Duties* by Cicero, the *De quattuor virtutibus*, attributed to Seneca, the platonic dialogues *Phaedrus* and *Philebus*, the epigrams of Martial, the *Metamorphoseon* by Apuleius, the comedy *Cistellaria* by Plautus, and a saying attributed to Hippocrates in the *Attic Nights* by Aulus Gellius.⁴ This type of comment very probably goes back to the *Polyanthea*, *opus suavissimis floribus exornatum* by Domenicus Nanus Mirabellius (1503, 1508 and 1514),⁵ described by Paolo Cherchi:

L'originalità strutturale della *Polyanthea*, la ricchezza e varietà delle voci e delle citazioni, la facile consultabilità venivano incontro all'insaziabile bisogno di abbellire le pagine con grappoli di citazioni [...] Il successo, a sua volta, incoraggiò la diffusione dello stile che

die episodische und richtungslose Abenteuerfolge in Form einer Serie von *exempla* in die rhetorischen Ordnungsstrukturen gegenreformatorischer Didaxe einzufigen sucht" (2000, 272) [... the way of life of the rogue that is characterised by experiences of social and moral destabilisation is presented by the first-person narrator by means of a discourse which tries to integrate the episodic and directionless sequence of adventures in the rhetorical structure of the doctrine of the Counter-Reformation in form of a series of *exempla*].

³ Baldo (2002, 19); I modernise the spelling and introduce quotation marks and italics to indicate the citations.

⁴ Regarding the constant return to classical works of a miscellaneous nature, especially *The Attic Nights* by Aulus Gellius or the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* by Valerius Maximus, I refer to Gernert (2013).

⁵ Sagrario López Poza's digital library *Poliantea* (*Enciclopedias, repertorios de lugares comunes y misceláneas de erudición humanística*) [*Encyclopaedias, lists of common and miscellaneous places of humanistic erudition*] is an extremely useful tool for researchers.

nutriva, per cui non si esagera dicendo che la *Polyanthea* creò in parte il gusto per la citazione.⁶

[The structural originality of the *Polyanthea*, the richness and variety of entries and quotations, and the effortless consultation met the insatiable need to embellish one's pages with clusters of citations ... Its success encouraged in turn the diffusion of the kind of style that it nourished, so that it is not exaggerated to say that the *Polyanthea*, in a way, created the taste for quoting.]

The moralistic commentaries of the *Baldo* respond thoroughly to the proclivity to quotation highlighted by the Italian researcher, but, curiously, they are not inspired in the textual material compiled by the aforementioned Nanus Mirabellius.⁷ A comparison of the *Translator's addition* about love and erotic desire with the mottos *amor cupidineus* and *voluptas* does not demonstrate similarities in the selection of classical texts. Moreover, the absence of biblical quotations is

6 Cherchi (1998, 44).

7 Both quote Seneca, Cicero, and even the same comedy of Plautus, but in Nanus Mirabellius (1512, XVIIr–v) (the copy of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München with the shelfmark 2 P.lat. 1067 is available online: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10813342-4>) (7 March 2019) the *Cistellaria* II, 1, 205–211 (“qui omnes homines supero antideo cruciabilitibus animi / iactor crucior agitor stimulator, versor / in amoris rota, miser exanimor, / feror differor distrahor diripior, / ita nubilam mentem animi habeo. / ubi sum, ibi non sum, ubi non sum, ibi animus” [It’s my own experience – no need to look further – that makes me think so, for in torment of soul no man rivals me, comes near me. I’m tossed around, bandied about, goaded, whirled on the wheel of love, done to death, poor wretch that I am! I’m torn, torn asunder, disrupted, dismembered – yes, all my mental faculties are befogged! Where I am, there I am not; where I am not, there my soul is – yes, I am in a thousand moods!]) (edition and translation Nixon 1916, 132–133) and in the *Baldo* (2002, 20) the *Cistellaria* I, 1, 69–70: “Namque ecastor Amor et melle et felle est fecundissimus;/gustui dat dulce, amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit” [Why, good gracious, love is fairly overflowing with honey and gall both. It gives you but a taste of sweetness: bitterness it heaps up before you till you can hold no more] (edition and translation Nixon 1916, 120–121). They coincide in Nanus Mirabellius (1512, XVIIr) and in *Baldo* (2001, 20) a quotation from Apuleius (*Metamorphoseon*, Liber VIII, 2: “Quidni, cum flamma saevi amoris parva quidem primo vapore delectet, sed fomentis consuetudinis exaestuans inmodicis ardoribus totos amburat homines?” [What wonder indeed? Like as we see it fortuneth to lovers, who are at first delighted by the flame of cruel love, when as it is small, until by continual feeding of it with the fuel of use and wont, it gloweth and flameth and altogether burneth them up, translation Adlington / Gaselee 1924, 347]), but are missing entirely in the entries *amor cupidineus* (Nanus Mirabellius 1512, XVIIr–XVIIIr) and *voluptas* (Nanus Mirabellius 1512, CCXVIIr–CCXVIIIr) the mentions of Plato and of Aulus Gellius. It seems that the anonymous author of the Spanish *Baldo* used neither the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor nor the *Sivla de varia lección* of Pedro Mexía.

striking, as they abound in the *Polyanthea*⁸ and also, incidentally, in the *Guzmán de Alfarache*.⁹ What is curious, however, is the coincidence of interests that are presented in the issues of the moralist commentaries contained in the *Baldo* with those that are annotated in the *Polyanthea*: truth and adulation,¹⁰ old age,¹¹ ambition,¹² science,¹³ divination,¹⁴ women and matrimony,¹⁵ etc. I believe that we

8 The *Officinae* (1520) by Jean Tixier de Ravisi also renounce references to sacred texts as Cherchi observes (1998, 36–37): “[...] non si ricorre quasi mai alle Sacre Scritture, si citano raramente autori della Patristica, mentre più frequenti, ma nel complesso rari, sono i rimandi agli umanisti” [... they almost never use the Holy Scripture, very rarely are patristic authors quoted, while more frequently we find references to humanists that, compared to the rest, are scarce]. In any event, it deals more with a collection of anecdotes, rather than a list of quotations.

9 See the index of biblical quotations in Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (2012, 1531–1532).

10 See the “Adición del intérprete” [Interpreter’s addition] which follows *Capítulo vij. De cómo Falqueto contó la fábula y ficción en que fue tornado perro y los trabajos que pasó en tanto que lo fue hasta que fue vuelto en medio perro* [Chapter vij. How Falqueto related the fable and story in which he was turned into a dog and the works he underwent inasmuch as he became half a dog]. The interspersed autobiography of this hybrid unleashes the following metafictional comment: “Aquí entenderéis por Falqueto a todo hombre que dice la verdad y que reprehende los vicios como es costumbre del perro, que ladra mayormente a los ladrones y defiende a su señor” (*Baldo* 2002, 30–31) [Here will you understand through Falqueto every man who speaks the truth and who admonishes vices as is the custom of the dog, who barks mainly at thieves and defends his master]; compare with Nanus Mirabellius (1512, s.v. *adulatio* and s.v. *veritas*).

11 See the “Adición” that follows *Capítulo x. Cómo los compañeros de Baldo, sabida su prisión, se partieron de Cipada dejando a Cingar el cargo, el cual hizo muchas cosas con que fue Barbatonazo afrentado* [Chapter x. How Baldo’s companions, his imprisonment known, parted from Cipada, leaving Cingar in charge, who did many things as an affront to Barbatonazo]. The anonymous author felt himself obligated to comment on the playful narration of Folengo concerning the past ills that haunt the old Barbatognazzus: “En este viejo desvariado puede caber aquel dicho griego: El viejo amador, última desventura” (*Baldo* 2002, 38–40) [To this delirious old man one may apply that Greek quotation: the old lover, final misfortune]; compare with Nanus Mirabellius (1512, s.v. *senectus*).

12 Compare the “Moralidad” of *Capítulo xvj. Cómo se embarcaron los tres compañeros y de la burla que hizo Cingar a unos cabreros y la gran tempestad que les sucedió* (*Baldo* 2002, 53–55) [Chapter xvj. How the three companions embarked and of the fun Cingar made of some goatherds, and the great storm that befell them] with Nanus Mirabellius (1512, s.v. *ambitio*).

13 See the “Moralidad” of *Capítulo xvij. Cómo aquellos tres filósofos de Corintio hallaron por experiencia la manera de la alquimia y cómo muchos fueron burlados por ella y otros burlaron* [Chapter xvij. How those three philosophers of Corinth found through experience the ways of alchemy and how many were mocked for it, and others did the mocking]: “Hase aquí contado la arte de la alquimia y la piedra filosofal, por la cual podemos entender cualquiera ciencia llena de argumentos y sofisticas razones, en quien gastan el tiempo no saliendo d’ella por la dulzura de las cavilaciones” (*Baldo* 2002, 61–62) [Related here is the art of alchemy and the philosopher’s stone, through which we may understand any science full of arguments and sophis-

will find, very indicatively (as shall be seen), the same entries – worldly love, lust, truth, adulation, old age, self-knowledge, science, marriage, as well as women in general and women in particular – in the *Lugares comunes de conceptos, dichos y sentencias, en diversas materias* [Commonplaces of Concepts, Sayings, and Judgments, in Diverse Subjects] (Seville, Juan de León, 1595) by Juan de Aranda, which was so important for the moralistic commentaries of the *Guzmán de Alfarache*.

Beyond the concrete textual material provided in anthologies and miscellanies, we should pay heed to its structural relevance, as did Cathérine Magnien-Simonin with regard to Montaigne, insisting on the “ressemblance de la poétique des *Essais* avec celle des *Nuits attiques*”¹⁶ [resemblance of the poetics of the *Essays* with those of the *Attic Nights*]. Asunción Rallo poses the problem in wondering “hasta qué punto el *Guzmán de Alfarache* [...] era visto en su siglo como miscelánea”¹⁷ [to what extent the *Guzmán de Alfarache* ... was seen in its time as

ticated reasonings, in those who waste time not coming out of it by the sweetness of their worries].

14 See the “Moralidad” of *Capítulo xxj. Cómo Cingar, preguntado de Baldo, contó muchas fábulas de la astrología sobre los sinos y planetas y lo que más aconteció* [Chapter xxj. How Cingar, asked by Baldo, told many fables from astrology about the fates and the planets and what happened further]: “Las fábulas que aquí se han contado escríbelas largamente Ovidio en el *Metamorfosis*, las cuales, porque cualquiera las podrá traer a lo que quisiere, salvo hablaré de los planetas y de los astrólogos que dicen lo venidero” (Baldo 2002, 82–83) [Ovid writes at length in the *Metamorphosis* of the fables told here, which, because anyone can carry them to the extent he wishes, but I will speak of the planets and of the astrologers who tell the future].

15 Compare the “Exclamación” commented on in *Capítulo xxij. Cómo la maga Muselina prendió a Falqueto y mató engañosamente a Leonardo porque no quiso complir su voluntad y dañado propósito* (Baldo 2002, 87–88) [Chapter xxij. How the magician Muselina ignited Falqueto and deceptively killed Leonardo because he did not want to carry out her will and harmful purpose] with Nanus Mirabellius (1512, s.v. *mulier* and s.v. *matrimonium*).

16 Magnien-Simonin (1995, 8).

17 Rallo Gruss (1984, 165). The parallels between the *Baldo* and the picaresque novel by Mateo Alemán have been analysed by König, who observes regarding the moralisations: “Sus comentarios filosófico-morales son, en otro plano, continuación de lo que el autor del *Baldo* había insertado, en forma de numerosas *moralizaciones* extensas, como comentarios interpretativos en las ‘fantasías’ de Folengo. La gran innovación de Mateo Alemán fue confiar estos comentarios al mismo pícaro que está describiendo su vida, con lo cual simultáneamente se presenta a sí mismo y a su entorno y lleva a cabo una crítica desde una perspectiva que, consecuente y virtuosamente, posee una estructura bipolar” (2003, 137–167) [Its philosophic-moral comments are, on another level, a continuation of what the author of the *Baldo* had inserted, in the form of numerous and extensive *moralisations*, like the interpretive comments in the ‘Fantasies’ of Folengo. The great innovation of Mateo Alemán was in entrusting these comments to the same rogue who is describing his life, with which he simultaneously introduces himself and his field,

miscellany]. Monique Michaud in turn characterises the *Guzmán* as “une véritable somme philosophique, une petite encyclopédie”¹⁸ [a veritable philosophic sum, a small encyclopaedia] and Silvia Monti emphasises “tale varietà nella struttura discorsiva da poter essere addirittura assimilato al genere della *silva* o della *miscelanea*”¹⁹ [such variety of the discursive structure that it could be equated with the genre of the *silva* or the miscellany]. I do not wish to close this brief summary of the analysis of the matter without citing the opinion of the editor of the new (and excellent) edition of the *Guzmán*, Luis Gómez Canseco, who observes that we could read Alemán’s novel as “una *Silva de varia lección* con protagonista” [a *Silva de varia lección* with a protagonist] and highlights the “buscada estética de la diversidad” [desired aesthetic of diversity], thanks to which “se podría describir el libro como una suma de materiales heterogéneos trenzados en torno al núcleo narrativo que constituye la vida de Guzmán”²⁰ [the book could be described as a summation of heterogeneous materials plaited around the narrative centre that constitutes the life of Guzmán]. It is this aesthetic willingness that distinguishes the *Guzmán* from our book of chivalry, in which said willingness is notable for its absence.

The system adopted by the anonymous author of the *Baldo* in the textual construction of its moralisations, in order to delve into the question of bad knowledge, is that of using them to make orthodox an objectionable narration by way of the application of an allegorical interpretation and a moralistic reflection. It truly captures one’s attention that this anonymous author, so entrenched

and carries out a criticism from a perspective that, consequently and virtuously, possesses a bipolar structure]. Concerning knowledge as seen in the *Baldo* and in the *Guzmán*, see Gernert (2010).

18 Michaud (1987, 180). Also see the observations of the same researcher on the reception of the work as a miscellany: “Tant mieux pour notre auteur si, de surcroît, le récit du *gueux* en vient à être considéré, à son tour, comme une *miscellanée*, ainsi qu’en témoignent les préfaces, espagnoles aussi bien qu’étrangères, qui se succèdent pendant plus d’un siècle” (1987, 179) [Even better for our author if, moreover, the story of the rogue is itself considered to be a miscellany. This is documented by the Spanish and foreign prefaces that follow more than a century later].

19 Monti (1990, 123). Also see the chapter about the *Silva* and chapters XX and XXI of the second part in Cros (1967a, 150–162) as well as the chapter “De l’explication de textes ou ‘lectio’ aux *miscellanées*” in Cros (1967b, 150–162).

20 Gómez Canseco, “Estudio”, in Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (2012, 802). Gómez Canseco (2012, 803) relies on the very Mateo Alemán who writes that “siempre que hallo piedras para el edificio, las voy amontonando. Son mi centro a estas ocasiones y camino con ellas a él. Quédese aquí esta carga, que, si alcanzare a el tiempo, yo volveré por ella y no será tarde” (*Guzmán de Alfarache* 2012, 7) [whenever I find stones for the building, I start to pile them. They are my centre on these occasions, and I walk to it with them. Let this load remain, for, if I arrive in time, I will return for it and it will not be too late].

in moral correction – consider his glosses – has chosen, as a model, a text as problematic as the *Baldus* of Folengo, which forces him to repeatedly rectify what he himself has decided to translate. This is particularly interesting for our purposes when the macaronic text parodies forms of knowledge that, for some reason, are openly heterodox or bordering on the objectionable,²¹ e.g., astrological, mythological, or alchemical knowledge. In the Spanish adaptation, we see a generalisation of the role of Cíngar as a bearer of these forms of knowledge, which are praised in the *Baldus* of Folengo. It is this figure of the proto-rogue who explains to his companions the significance of a whole series of curious facts, people, and places that they discover on their journey and which merit an explanation. It seems that the process of accessing knowledge is distributed between Baldo, Leonardo and the other knights, who embody the curiosity and desire to know of the Renaissance reader, and Cíngar, who carries out the function of passing knowledge of miscellany on to them, in encyclopaedic fashion.²² The proto-rogue possesses an incredibly abundant variety of competences

21 Also see Zumbini (1987, 1): “Nella stessa materia cavalleresca, ch’è il soggetto vero e proprio del suo poema, il Folengo introdusse tutti quegli elementi della vita e della storia onde gli piacque, secondo i casi, burlarsi, far la satira o derivarne un qual si sia effetto comico. Notevoli, tra siffatti elementi, sono l’astrologia, le arti magiche, le scienze occulte in generale e quanto nell’ordine ideale e reale, tenendo ancor del medio evo, facesse contrasto al pieno svolgimento della vita moderna” [In the very chivalric theme, which is the real subject of his poem, Folengo introduces all these elements from life and from history that he likes; and depending on each case, in order to make fun, satirise or produce any comic effect. Noteworthy among such elements are astrology, the magic arts, the occult sciences in general and all which with medieval roots would contrast, in an ideal and real order, with modern life].

22 “La miscelánea se convirtió en uno de los géneros más leídos y demandados durante los siglos XVI y XVII y floreció como fruto característico del espíritu humanista, que, con este tipo de obras de temas diversos y cambiantes, pretendía indagar sobre el mundo y el hombre y alcanzar la verdad por medio del descubrimiento de sus enigmas, divulgando los conocimientos que, por estar escondidos hasta entonces, podían provocar, dado su carácter extraordinario o sorprendente, la curiosidad intelectual por saber entre un público extenso y variado, no humanista, que la imprenta estaba fraguando por entonces y que no era capaz ni tenía medios para dedicar largas horas al estudio y a la lectura de libros latinos” (Castro in the introduction to his edition of the *Silva de varia lección* 1990, 62) [Miscellany became one of the most widely read and requested genres during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it flourished as an emblematic product of the humanist spirit, which, with this type of works on diverse and fluctuating themes, attempted to explore the world and man, and reach the truth by way of the uncovering of his enigmas, divulging knowledge that, being theretofore hidden, could provoke, given their extraordinary and surprising nature, the intellectual curiosity of knowing among the extensive and diverse (though not humanist) public, which the printing house was forging at the time, and which was not capable, nor possessed of the means, to dedicate long hours to the study and reading of Latin books].

and shares his knowledge, exactly like Pedro Mexía, who writes in the foreword of his *Silva*:

[...] habiendo gastado mucha parte de mi vida en leer y pasar muchos libros [...] parecióme que si desto yo había alcanzado alguna erudición o noticia de cosas, que [...] tenía obligación a lo comunicar y hacer participantes dellos a mis naturales y vecinos, escribiendo yo alguna cosa que fuese común y pública a todos.²³

[... having spent a large part of my life reading and going over many books ... it seemed to me that if, from this, I had attained some learning or news of things, that ... I had an obligation to share it and make my countrymen and neighbours participate, writing something that would be common and public for all.]

To illustrate in what way the dissemination of learning is carried out in a book of chivalry, I offer two examples that originate from the first book of the *Baldo*.

In chapter XVII the companions behold in a cave a series of precious stones that correspond to those listed in the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny.²⁴

<i>Baldo</i>	Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
En las primeras estaba la piedra acates de grandeza espantable; luego estaba la piedra acopis, en la cual estaban figuradas gotas de oro. Ésta, en olio echada, hirviendo, dicen que quita el cansancio a los untados en el juego de la palestra.	139 Achates in magna fuit auctoritate, nunc in nulla est, reperta primum in Sicilia iuxta flumen eiusdem nominis, postea plurimis in terris, excellens amplitudine, numerosa uarietibus, quae mutant cognomina eius. [...]143
Tras d'éstas venía la alabastrite que nace en el Alabastro en Egipto de varias colores con un círculo blanco.	Acopos nitro colore similis est, pumicosa, guttis aureis stellata. cum hac oleum sufferuefactum perunctis lassitudinem, si credimus, soluit. Alabastritis nascitur in Alabastro Aegypti et in Syriae Damasco candore interstincto uariis coloribus. haec cremata cum fossili sale et trita grauitates oris et dentium extenuare dicitur. [...]
A ésta acompañaba la androdamas que resplandece como oro, semejante a el marfil.	144 [...] Androdamas argenti nitorem habet {ut adamas}, quadratis semper tessellis similis.
La asbestis tenía color de hierro que nace en los montes de Arcadia. La aspisates había color de fuego, que se halla en el nido de las aves de Arabia.	Magi putant nomen inpositum ab eo, quod impetus hominum et iracundias domet. argyr-

²³ Mexía (2003, 39–40). Regarding the diffusion of knowledge, also see Sola (2006, 95): “La participación de todos [...] en el saber de uno es el espejo de la participación formal de los ‘discursos y capítulos de diversos propósitos’ en la *Silva*” [The participation of all ... in knowledge of one is a mirror to the formal participation of the ‘discourses and chapters of different purposes’ in the *Silva*].

²⁴ *Baldo* (2002, 56). Compare with *Naturalis Historia* XXXVII, 54, 139–146, translation by Eichholz (1971, 277, 281–283) and regarding the reception of Pliny, see Ramos Maldonado (2013).

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<i>Baldo</i>	<i>Pliny, Naturalis Historia</i>
	odamas eadem sit an alia, auctores non explicant. [...]
	146 Asbestos in Arcadiae montibus nascitur coloris ferrei. Aspisatim Democritus in Arabia nasci tradit, ignei coloris, et oportere cum cameli fimo splenicis adalligari, inueniri utique in nido Arabicarum alitum; et alitum eodem nomine ibi in Leucopetra nasci, argentei coloris, radiantem; contra lymphatum habentibus.
<p>In the first was the agate stone, of formidable size; then there was the acopos stone, in which there were drops of gold featured. This one, dipped in boiling oil, is said to take away fatigue from those competing in the arena. After these came alabastritis, born of the Alabaster of Egypt, in various colours with a white circle.</p> <p>This was accompanied by the androdamas, which shines like gold, similar to ivory. Asbestos had the color of iron born in the hills of Arcadia. The aspisatis had the colour of fire, that which is found in the nest of the birds of Arabia.</p>	<p>[The agate was one held in high esteem, but now enjoys none. It was first discovered in Sicily near the river of the same name, but was later found in many countries. Its size can be exceptional, and its varieties are very numerous. The descriptive terms applied to it vary accordingly. ... The 'acopos' or 'reviver', which in colour resembles soda, is porous and spangled with gold particles. Oil heated along with this stone and applied as an embrocation dispels fatigue, or so we are led to believe.</p> <p>'Alabastritis', which is found at Alabastrum in Egypt and at Damascus in Syria, is a white stone interspersed with various colours. When burnt with rock salt and pounded, it is said to alleviate bad breath caused by the mouth and teeth. ... The 'androdamas' or 'man tamer', has a silvery glint, like 'adamas' and always resembles small cubes. The Magi suppose that its name has been applied to it in virtue of the fact that it subdues violence and hot temper in men. Whether the 'argyrodamas' or 'silver tamer' is the same, or a different stone, is not made clear by our authorities. ... 'Asbestos', which is found in the mountains of Arcadia, has the colour of iron. 'Aspisatis', according to Democritus, occurs in Arabia and is of fiery red colour. He recommends that sufferers from an enlarged spleen should wear it as an amulet with camel dung. However that may be, he states that it is found in the nests of Arabic birds, and that another stone bearing the same name and found in Arabia on Cape Leucopetra</p>

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Baldo	Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
	has a darting silvery lustre and is effective in counteracting attacks of wild distraction.]

And this is only the beginning of an extremely long list, a schematic enumeration arranged in alphabetical order – agate, acopos, alabastritis, androdamas, asbestos and aspisatis, *etc.* –, outlined in the text by Pliny.²⁵ In the chivalric narrative, these stones turn out to be glass counterfeits,²⁶ according to the information from Cíngar, which causes shock among his friends. Here is what Leonardo the knight asks the rogue: “Mucho querría saber de qué manera se hizo este vidro que cosa tan preciada es”²⁷ [I would very much like to know in what way this glass was made to make it so precious]. The response is a fairly literal translation of the chapter on the invention of glass in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*.²⁸

Baldo	Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
–Señor, –dijo Cíngar– habéis de saber que hay una parte de la provincia Suria, que se dice Fenicia, que es cercana a Judea, la cual tiene una laguna, que se llama Candebia, par de las raíces del monte Carmelo, de adonde creen que nasce el río llamado Belo, de espacio de cinco mil pies, que corre a la mar par de la tierra que se dice de Tolomé, el cual río corre poco a poco. El agua suya no es saludable,	190. Pars Syriae, quae Phoenice vocatur, finitima Iudaeae intra montis Carmeli radices paludem habet, quae vocatur Candebia. Ex ea creditur nasci Belus amnis quinque milium passuum spatio in mare perfluens iuxta Ptolemaidem coloniam. Lentus hic cursus, insaluber potu, sed caerimoniis sacer, limosus, vado profundus, non nisi refuso mari harenas fate-

²⁵ Very striking is this desire for arrangement, which is also observed regarding the Ovidian transformations, related in Baldo (2002, 114–117), which appear in groups according to the result of metamorphosis, that is to say, stones, plants, animals, etc., as I studied in my contribution with the title “La fiction chevaleresque espagnole et Boccaccio mythographe” in the *Colloque international. L’œuvre de Giovanni Boccaccio en Italie et en Espagne aux XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles* in Paris III in November of 2013, and which will be published in the conference proceedings.

²⁶ The possibility of fabricating falsifications of precious stones with glass was well known to Theophrastus, as Beretta documents (2004, 18–19): “For that matter, all of Theophrastus’ treatise shows that already in his time the art of glassmaking was considerably developed. In fact, in speaking of emeralds, the Greek philosopher seems to be aware of the counterfeits for this stone which could be made by the working of glass as well as rock crystal”.

²⁷ Baldo (2002, 56).

²⁸ Compare Baldo (2002, 56–57), with *Naturalis Historia* XXXVI, 65–68, translation by Eichholz (1971, 277, 149–151). Regarding this episode, see Beretta (2004, 1–2). For glass in classical Antiquity, also see Di Pasquale (2004, 31–76).

Continued

<i>Baldo</i>	<i>Pliny, Naturalis Historia</i>
<p>pero muy sagrado. Era con diversas cerimonias que allí se hacían. Tenía mucho barro en el vado, el cual no demuestra las arenas sino con la mengua del mar, las cuales resplandecen habiéndose quitado el barro de encima. Tiene quinientos pasos de rivera, la cual era muy útil para criar vidro. Adonde una vez aportó una nao de mercaderes que venía toda llena de salitre que lo traían de las salinas de Macedonia, hecho tortas y en vasos. Pues, como la gente se saliese a la playa a comer y como para poner las mesas les estorbasen las piedras de vidro, sacan el salitre de la nao que se avía mojado y sácanlo encima. Donde probando un poco encima la arena, veríades correr mucho licor de vidro y allí fue el primer origen de vidro que hubo, el cual tomaron los mercaderes.</p>	<p>tur; fluctibus enim volutatae nitescent detritis sordibus.</p> <p>191. tunc et marino creduntur adstringi morsu, non prius utiles. quingentorum est passuum non amplius litoris spatium, idque tantum multa per saecula gignendo fuit vitro. fama est adpulsa nave mercatorum nitri, cum sparsi per litus epulas pararent nec esset cortinis attolendis lapidum occasio, glaebas nitri e nave subdidisse, quibus accensis, permixta harena litoris, tralucens novi liquoris fluxisse rivos, et hanc fuisse originem vitri.</p>
<p>– Sir, – said Cíngar – you must know that there is a part of the land of Syria, called Phoenicia, close to Judaea, that has a lagoon called Candebia, in and around the foothills of Mount Carmel, where it is believed that the River Belus is born, five thousand feet in length, which flows very slowly to the sea near a place called Ptolemais. Its water is not safe to drink, but it is very sacred. Many ceremonies were performed there. Its ford is very muddy and does not reveal the sands below it except at low tide, at which point they glimmer. The creek bed extends five hundred paces and was very useful in the making of glass. Here a merchant ship once came full of saltpetre that they had brought from the salt mines of Macedonia, made into cakes and cups. As they went down to the beach to set up tables and were obtuded by the glassy stones, they took the saltpetre from the ship, which was wet, and placed it over the rocks. Having done this, a translucent liquid poured out, and this was the origin of glass, which the merchants took with them.</p>	<p>That part of Syria which is known as Phoenicia and borders on Judea contains a swamp called Candebia amid the lower slopes of Mount Carmel. This is supposed to be the source of the River Belus, which after traversing a distance of 5 miles flows into the sea near the colony of Ptolemais. Its current is sluggish and its waters are unwholesome to drink, although they are regarded as holy for ritual purposes. The river is muddy and flows in a deep channel, revealing its sands only when the tide ebbs. For it is not until they have been tossed by the waves and cleansed of impurities that they glister. Moreover, it is only at that moment, when they are thought to be affected by the sharp, astringent properties of the brine, that they become fit for use. The beach stretches for not more than half a mile, and yet for many centuries the production of glass depended on this area alone. There is a story that once a ship belonging to some traders in natural soda put in here and that they scattered along the shore to prepare a meal. Since however, no stones suitable for supporting their cauldrons were forthcoming, they rested</p>

Continued

Baldo	Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i>
	them on lumps of soda from their cargo. When these became heated and were completely mingled with the sand on the beach a strange translucent liquid flowed forth in streams; and this, is said, was the origin of glass.]

Glass had been an object of exceptional study since the time of the Greeks, and it was linked to objectionable knowledge like alchemy, as Marco Berretta observes:

In fact, many Greek philosophers and naturalists studied glass and were fascinated by its many properties. This fascination stimulated a series of original thoughts on its possible uses in particular techniques that had long been complementary such as alchemic experimentation, the preparation of pharmaceutical remedies and medical diagnostics.²⁹

In view of this, it is not surprising that the section on glass in the *Baldo* is embedded in a broader context that addresses alchemy,³⁰ bad knowledge *par excellence* that deserves our attention. It is necessary to remember that Folengo, in the corresponding chapters, inserts a discourse on the relationships between planets and metals that goes back to the *Summa perfectionis magisterii* by the Arabic alchemist Jabir ibn Hayyan, also known as Geber, as Rodolfo Signorini has demonstrated.³¹ The Benedictine monk adds levity to this discourse with an entire series of mocking details³² and ends the section on alchemy by saying that a full purse is far more useful “quam studiando libros et stellis perdere sennum”³³ [than losing one’s mind by studying books and stars]. For his part, the anony-

29 Berretta (2004, 3). Also see Matton (1995).

30 These are chapters xvii (*Cómo hallaron los tres caballeros la cueva de las piedras preciosas y lo que contó Cingar de la invención del vidro y las señales que hallaron de la alquimia*) [How the three knights found the cave of precious stones and what Cingar told of the invention of glass, and the signs they found of alchemy] and xviii (*Cómo aquellos tres filósofos de Corintio hallaron por experiencia la manera de la alquimia y cómo muchos fueron burlados por ella y otros burlaron*) [How those three philosophers of Corinth found through experience the ways of alchemy and how many were mocked for it, and others did the mocking].

31 Signorini (1993, 59–83).

32 Speaking of the usefulness of metals and specifically of iron, he reiterates that without it, pigs cannot be castrated, “nec porcos castrat sine ferro conzalavezus” Folengo, *Baldus* XIII, 291 (1989, 452) [nor can a tinker castrate pigs without iron].

33 Folengo *Baldus* XIII, 343 (1989, 456).

mous author of the *Baldo* eliminates this dissertation on alchemy, at once erudite and playful, and he replaces it with a history of the origin of alchemy which traces back to three Greek philosophers of his own creation, Periandro of Samo, Tales Alexandrino and Anaximandro of Crete, who would have retired to the island of Samos to carry out their experiments, described in much detail. Further on, he lists a series of *exempla*, which compile cases of people duped by false alchemists of different backgrounds,³⁴ a series that he ends with a final history on one Balbino, who comes from one of the *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus, the dialogue titled *Alcuimista*.³⁵ But one must keep in mind that in 1535, the Holy Office forbade translations of the *Colloquia* of Erasmus and that, after the Dutchman's death in September of 1537, both the Spanish and Latin versions were prohibited.³⁶ Thus, the contradictory situation ensues, in which conflictive knowing is criticised by citing a banned author.

* * *

The second example comes from chapter XXVII, in which the companions travel through Libya, where they trip over many snakes and Baldo, “como quien quería saber todos los lugares por donde iba”³⁷ [as one who wanted to know all the places he was going], asks his wise friend:

—Cíngar, si tanta es tu prudencia, quería saber ¿por qué aquí en la Libia hay más cosas ponzoñosas que en otras partes? Todos querían saber esto.³⁸

[Cíngar, if you are so prudent, I would like to know why there are, here in Libya, more poisonous things than in other places? Everyone wanted to know why.]

On this occasion, the subject comes directly from the *Pharsalia* by Lucan, the dominant hypotext of this episode.³⁹ The response also echoes the mythological

³⁴ For the source of the first two stories, see Rodríguez Guerrero (2009, 35–36).

³⁵ The anonymous author transforms the Dutchman's dialogue into a brief *exemplum*, in which he indicatively substitutes the cleric of his template for a “mancebo extranjero” [foreign youth]. Erasmus is also the template for various interspersed novels in the so-called “Vida de Cíngar” [Life of Cíngar]. The *Colloquia* that are the template for the *Baldo* – *Naufragium*, *Alcuimista*, *Diversoria*, *Convivium fabulosum* – at the time were not translated into Spanish. See Plunien (1984) and Gernert (2001).

³⁶ See Bataillon (1979, 487–504).

³⁷ *Baldo* (2002, 96).

³⁸ *Baldo* (2002, 96).

³⁹ Lucan, *Pharsalia* IX, 619–623: “Cur Libycus tantis exundet pestibus aer / fertilis in mortes, aut quid secreta nocenti / miscuerit natura solo, non cura laborque / noster scire ualet, nisi quod uolgata per orbem / fabula pro uera decepit saecula causa” [Why the clime of Libya abounds in such plagues and teems with death, or what bane mysterious Nature has mingled

story of Medusa, put forward as an explanation of Lucan's poem.⁴⁰ Evidently, mythological knowledge has another status, with regard to its veracity than does the knowledge of nature that comes from Pliny. Here we have the narrator's comment: "D'estas palabras que dijo Cingar se quedaron todos maravillados, no porque creían que aquello fuese verdad, sino porque veían tan bien compuesto la fábula"⁴¹ [With these words from Cingar, everyone was amazed, not because they believed them to be true, but rather because they saw how well composed the fable was]. After having listened to the mythological tale, the companions see an enormous quantity of different kinds of snakes, listed by the extradiegetic narrator. This catalogue does not date back – as one might think – to the information on Ophidia that Pliny offers in the eighth book of his *Naturalis Historia*,⁴² but rather continues translating the corresponding catalogue of the *Pharsalia* by Lucan.⁴³

Baldo	Lucano, <i>Farsalia</i>
<p>Así iban por aquella desierta tierra con muy gran trabajo con tantas serpientes como veían, donde veían la sierpe llamada hemorrois, que se hacía muy encorvada, y los quersídro, nascidos en los campos de las sirtes. No muy lejos estaban los quelídro, que echan humo de sí, y el cenchrís, que cae siempre derecho, el cual tiene la barriga vareada con muchas señales. Teníanles compañía el ofítes, todo manchado; de la color de la arena era la sierpe hammodites y la engañadora cerastes con la scítale que se quita su piel cuando ay heladas. No faltaban allí tostadas dípsades y la pesada anfísbena de dos cabezas y la nâtrís, que mancha la clara agua, y los voladores jáculos con la culebra <fercas> [parias] que va haciendo rayas con la cola por el camino. Tenía compañía a éstas el cobdicioso préster, que extiende su espumosa boca, y la sepe mortí-</p>	<p>At non stare suum miseris passura cruorem squamiferos ingens haemorrhoids explicat orbes, natus et ambiguae coleret qui Syrtidos arua chersydros, tractique uia fumante chelydri, et semper recto lapsurus limite cenchris: pluribus ille notis uariatam tingitur aluum quam paruis pictus maculis Thebanus ophites. concolor exustis atque indiscretus harenis hammodytes, spinaque uagi torquente cera- stae, et scytale sparsis etiamnunc sola pruinis exuuiis positura suas, et torrida dipsas, et grauis in geminum uergens caput amphis- baena, et natrix uiolator aquae, iaculique uolucres, et contentus iter cauda sulcare parias, oraque distendens audius fumantia prester, ossaue dissoluens cum corpore tabificus seps;</p>

with her soil – this no study and pains of ours avail to discover; but a world-wide legend has taken the place of the true cause and deceived mankind, translation Duff 1988, 551].

⁴⁰ See Lucan, *Pharsalia* IX, 624–684.

⁴¹ Baldo (2002, 97).

⁴² See Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VIII, 35, 85.

⁴³ Compare Baldo (2002, 97–98) with Lucan, *Pharsalia* IX, 708–723, translation by Duff (1988, 559).

Continued

Baldo

Lucano, *Farsalia*

fera, que desface los huesos juntamente con el cuerpo.

[So they went arduously through that desert land with so many serpents as they saw, when they beheld the serpent called *haemorrhois*, which curled and curved, and the *chersydros*, born in the shoal lands. Not far away were the *chelydris*, which bellow smoke, and the *cenchrus*, which always drops forward, which has a belly marked with many whacks. In their company was the *ophytes*, all stained; of the colour of the sand was the snake *ammodytes* and the deceiver *cerastes* with the *scytale* shed from its skin when there are frosts. Also present there were tanned *dipsas* and the weighty *amphisbaena* of two heads and the *natrix*, which sullies clear water, and the flying *iaculus* with the <fercas> [*parias*] snake that makes stripes with its tail on its path. Accompanying them was the greedy *prester*, which extends its foamy mouth, and the deadly *seps*, which shatters bones along with the body.]

[And there the huge *haemorrhois*, which will not suffer the blood of its victim to stay in the veins, opens out its scaly coils; there is the *chersydros*, created to inhabit the Syrtis, half land and half sea; the *chelydris*, whose track smokes as it glides along; the *cenchrus*, which moves ever in a straight line – its belly is more thickly chequered and spotted than the Theban serpentine with its minute patterns; the *ammodytes*, of the same colour as the scorched sand an indistinguishable from it; the *cerastes*, which wanders about as its spine makes it turn; the *scytale*, which alone can shed its skin while the rime is still scattered over the ground; the dried-up *dipsas*; the fell *amphisbaena*, that moves towards each of its two heads; the *natrix*, which pollutes waters, and the *iaculus*, that can fly; the *parias*, that is content to plough a track with its tail; the deadly *seps* that destroys the bones with the body.]

All of these forms of knowledge, bad and less bad, about stones, animals and mythological figures, are dependent on morality as corresponds to a reading in an allegorical tone:

Por Medusa entenderemos a la herejía que torna a los hombres piedras porque, o los hace adorar piedras como hacía a los antiguos, o los hace negar a su Dios, la cual ha tornado en piedras a infinitos hombres, por quien tantos escándalos de herejías se levantaron en el mundo.⁴⁴

[Through Medusa, we will understand the heresy that turns men to stone, because either she makes them adore stones as did the ancients, or she makes them deny their God, she who has turned countless men to stone, she for whom so many heretical scandals have arisen in the world.]

⁴⁴ Baldo (2002, 99).

I recall that Jean Seznec called attention to the continuity of the allegorical interpretation of pagan gods in the Renaissance:

Thus the great allegorical current of the Middle Ages, far from shrinking, flows on in an ever widening channel. And the gods of the Renaissance are still in many cases didactic figures – instruments for the edification of the soul.⁴⁵

What is most striking to me is the allegorisation of the snakes:

Por la serpiente sepes ternemos la lujuria, que con su llama, que parece pequeña, quema no solamente la ánima, pero al cuerpo; de día en día lo deshace, en la manera que arriba habemos dicho. También se tomará por la envidia, que mata la ánima en odio y carcome el cuerpo por los bienes ajenos.⁴⁶

[From the viper snake we have lust, which with its flame, which appears small, burns not only the soul, but the body; day by day it destroys it, in the way we spoke of earlier. It is also undone by envy, which kills the soul with hate and corrodes the body via the well-being of others.]

This textual practice is reminiscent of medieval encyclopaedists. I am thinking, for example, of the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora who, around 1288, writes his *Historia Naturalis*, in which he gives in – according to José Martínez Gázquez – to “la difusión de los conocimientos naturales, poniéndolos al servicio de las verdades de la fe cristiana”⁴⁷ [the diffusion of natural knowledge, putting it to the service of the truths of the Christian faith].

* * *

In the final part of this study, I will analyse another instance of ‘bad knowledge’: In the *Liber XIII* of the original text by Folengo, the protagonist asks his friend Cingar, during a voyage at sea, about the particularities of the stars.⁴⁸ This so-called “astrologia Cingar” makes as much fun of astrological discourse as

⁴⁵ Seznec (1940, 103).

⁴⁶ Baldo (2002, 99).

⁴⁷ Martínez Gázquez (1998, 179). Regarding Gil de Zamora, see the edition of the *Historia Naturalis* (1994) as well as the studies by Talavera Esteso (1983), García Ballester and Domínguez García (1994, 115–134) and Marcos Casquero (1995).

⁴⁸ “O Cingar, grandis me nunc maravilia brancat, / nec scio qua guisa possunt, quae cernimus, esse. / Nonne vides solem plus largum, plusque rotundum / quando foras exit nascens, quando tramontat, / quam cum sustollit per coeli culmina carrum? / Praeterea nunc fert tam rossum ille visazzum, / in tinam vini quod strabuccasse videtur” (Folengo, *Baldus* 1989, 464) [Oh, Cingar, great is the amazement that I feel, and I cannot comprehend how the things we see are possible. Have you never noticed how the sun is larger and rounder when it comes out and when it sets, than when it takes its chariot to the peak of the sky. Now it has a big face, so red that one might think it drank a barrel of wine].

it does of the imaginary mythological planetarium. In the Spanish *Baldo* the curiosity of Folengo's protagonist about astrological matters reappears: "[...] Baldo, que era amigo de saber muchas cosas, preguntó a Cíngar que le dijese cómo estaba compuesta esta gran redondez del cielo y la tierra que deseaba mucho saberlo"⁴⁹ [Baldo, who was an ardent searcher for knowledge in many things, asked Cíngar to tell him of what the great roundness of the sky and the earth was made, as he had much desire to know]. In contrast with what happens in the macaronic text, the Spanish Cíngar responds by presenting his serious and well-ordered synthesis of astronomical and astrological knowledge, which begins with the discussion of the number of heavens,⁵⁰ continuing with the signs of the zodiac, and ending in a demonstration of his mythological knowledge. After further explanations of other constellations and their mythological background, there follows a detailed description, in descending order, of the seventh heaven down to the first, with corresponding planets, in accordance with the most common ordering of such lists: he begins with Saturn, the farthest planet from Earth, and finishes with the moon, adding a list of physiognomic traits that are attributed to people born under the ascendant of each planet, as well as the activities associated with each. This curious amalgam of medical (the theory of the humours and the complexions of man) and astrological and mythological concepts, is explained via the associated 'scientific' bibliography, which the author of the *Baldo* knows very well and has employed on repeated occasions within the chivalric tale. In the morality that offers commentary on this episode, the author severely criticises the naive belief in divination:

Claro está qu'el sabio señorea sobre las estrellas, y esto no fuera si los cursos y efetos de los planetas no se pudieran impedir. Esto lo declaran, así qu'el sabio hará esto cuando viere

⁴⁹ *Baldo* (2002, 79–80).

⁵⁰ *Baldo* (2002, 80): "Cuanto a lo primero, sabrás que los cielos unos dicen que son nueve, otros diez, otros once. Dejo esto y con ello al primer cielo impíreo, el cual no se mueve y más grande, más perfecto y más redondo que es'otros. Pero, ¿en qué me detengo? Es, en fin, morada divina debajo d'este sin haber cosa vacía. En medio está el que primeramente se mueve con movimiento velocísimo que, si parase, toda la humana máquina se desataría. Tras d'él viene el cielo estrellado, en el cual está un círculo, repartido en tres líneas, y éste se divide en doce partes que se llaman signos que van por la línea del medio" [Regarding the first, you will know that of the heavens, some say there are nine, others ten, others eleven. I will leave this and with it, the first Empyrean heaven, which does not move and is larger, more perfect and rounder than the others. But, to what should I apply myself? It is, essentially, the divine abode underneath it, nothing empty remaining. In the middle is the one that principally moves with such speed that, if it stopped, the entire human apparatus would fly loose. After it comes the stary heaven, in which there is a circle, distributed in three lines, and it is divided in twelve parts, called signs, that go along the middle line].

que Saturno denuncia gran frialdad y él se libra de aquel daño. Dice otro que ha de ser airado, pero refrena la ira, pero por esto no deja de acaecer esto simplemente y, si el hombre se dejare ir como las bestias, todo lo que le inclinan los planetas, terná. De adonde hacen mal aquellos que dan su parecer sobre aquellas cosas que sólo Dios sabe y no menos aquellos que lo quieren saber d'éstos.⁵¹

[It is clear that the wise man lords over the stars, and this would not be if the courses and the effects of the planets could not be impeded. This they declare, so the wise man will do this when he sees that Saturn prognosticates great cold, and he avoids that harm. Another says that he must be angry, but that he checks his anger, but for this reason this simply does not stop happening, and, if the man lets himself go in the way of beasts, all toward which the planets incline him, he will do. From whence they do ill that make a judgment over those things that only God knows, and not least those who wish to know about them.]

Immediately after, he enumerates the types of seers that knew the classical world: augurs, haruspices, etc., whose arts were banned by the Emperor Constantine I the Great (274–337).⁵² It is noteworthy that the imperial interdictions that have reached us are literally cited in the *Codex Theodisianus*.⁵³

Baldo	Codex Theodisianus
Donde el emperador Constantino que dice “aquella ciencia de aquéllos es de castigar y de vengar con severas leyes, que armados con artes mágicas aparejan algo contra la salud de los hombres o llevan los ánimos castos a la lujuria, y aquéllos que buscan remedios que no vengán aguas en las maduras viñas ni grano”.	Imp. Constantinus a. et c. ad Bassum pf. p. Eorum est scientia punienda et severissimis merito legibus vindicanda, qui magicis accincti artibus aut contra hominum moliti salutem aut pudicos ad libidinem deflexisse animos deteguntur. Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quaesita corporibus aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur [...] (CTh.9.16.3 [=brev.9.13.1])
[Where the Emperor Constantine says: “the science of those people is to be punished and avenged with severe laws, for, armed with magical arts, they harness something against the health of man, or deliver chaste souls unto	[The same Augustus and Caesar to Bassus, Prefect of the City. The science of those men who are equipped with magic arts and who are revealed to have worked against the safety of men or to have turned virtuous minds to lust

⁵¹ Baldo (2002, 82).
⁵² See Barton (1994, 39): “In A.D. 319 Constantine forbade private consultation, only traditional public *haruspici* being allowed”.
⁵³ Compare Baldo (2002, 82–83) with the *Codex Theodisianus* (CTh.9.16.3 [=brev.9.13.1]) and (CTh.9.16.4 [=brev.9.13.2]). This collection of laws, dictated in 438 by Emperor Theodosius, is accessible online at <http://ancientrome.ru/ius/library/codex/theod/liber09.htm#16> (1 November 2013). English translation by Pharr (1969, 237).

*Continued***Baldo**

lust, and those who seek remedies, may they not come as water in the ripened vine, nor hail”.]

También estableció que “ninguno se aconsejase con aurúspice o matemático, ni ariolo ni augur se esconda. Los caldeos magos y los otros que el vulgo llama hechiceros no hagan algo en esto. Calle ya la curiosidad perpetuamente de adivinar porque cualquiera que no obedeciere a nuestros mandos serále cortada la cabeza”.

[He also established that “none be advised either by haruspex or mathematician, neither fortune teller nor augur may hide. Chaldean magicians and the others that the people call sorcerers shall do nothing in this. Let the perpetual curiosity of divination be silenced, for any he that does not obey our orders shall have his head cut off”.]

Codex Theodisianus

shall be punished and deservedly avenged by the most severe laws. But remedies sought for human bodies shall not be involved in criminal accusation, nor the assistance that is innocently employed in rural districts in order that rains may not be feared for the ripe grape harvests or that the harvests may not be shattered by the stones of ruinous hail ...]

Imp. Constantius a. et Iulianus c. ad populum. Nemo haruspice consulat aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. Augurum et vatum prava confessio conticescat. Chaldaei ac magi et ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum magnitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. etenim supplicium capitis feret gladio ultore prostratus, quicumque* iussis obsequium denegaverit. Dat. VIII. kal. febr. Mediolano, Constantio a. IX. et Iuliano caes. II. coss. Interpretatio. Quicumque* pro curiositate futurorum vel invocatore daemonum vel divinos, quos hariolos appellant, vel haruspice, qui auguria colligit, consuluerit, capite punietur. (CTh.9.16.4 [=brev.9.13.2])

[The Emperor Constantius to the People. No person should consult a soothsayer or an astrologer or a diviner. The wicked doctrines of augurs and seers shall become silent. The Chaldeans and wizards and all the rest whom the common people call magicians, because of the magnitude of their crimes, shall not attempt anything in this direction. The inquisitiveness of all men for divination shall cease forever. For if any person should deny obedience to these orders, he shall suffer capital punishment, felled by the avenging sword.]

This transcription of legal texts is followed, without any clear divisions, by a reference to the manner in which the philosopher Favorinus goes against the div-

ination arts of the Chaldeans, which goes back to the preferred miscellany of the anonymous author, *The Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius:⁵⁴

<i>Baldo</i>	<i>Noctium atticarum [The attic nights] XIV, 1</i>
De adonde aquel gran filósofo Favorino –según lo cuenta Aulo Gelio en el libro .xiiij.– reprehende a estos caldeos o adivinos con muy evidentes razones, do demuestra cuánta sea la vanidad d'ellos y el poco saber de quien les va a consultar.	<i>Dissertatio Favorini philosophi adversus eos, qui Chaldaei appellantur et ex coetu motibusque siderum et stellarum fata hominum dicturos pollicentur.</i>
[Where that great philosopher Favorinus – as Aulus Gellius recounts in book xiiij. – reprehends the Chaldeans or seers with clear reasons, where he shows how vain they are and how little is known by the one whose counsel they seek.]	[A discourse of the philosopher Favorinus directed against those who are called Chaldeans, and who profess to tell men's fortunes from the conjunction and movements of the stars and constellations]
De adonde alega el mismo Aulo Gelio aquello del poeta Pacubio, que dice: 'Si veen las cosas que han de acontecer, iguálanse con Júpiter'; y aquello de Acio poeta dice así: 'Nada creo a los agoreros que enriquecen con palabras las orejas de otro por hinchir sus casas de oro'.	34. Ex quibus est Pacuvianum illud: "nam si, quae eventura sunt, provideant, aequiperent lovi", item Accianum illud: "nil" inquit "credo auguribus, qui aures verbis divitant alienas, suas ut auro locupletent domus".
[Where the same Aulus Gellius puts forward those things from the poet Pacuvius, who says: 'If you all see those things which must happen, you are equal to Jupiter'; and the words from the poet Accius which say: 'I do not at all believe the prophets of doom, who with words enrich the ears of others so as to fill their houses with gold'.]	[Among these is the following saying of Pacuvius: "Could men divine the futures, they'd match Jove". Also this from Accius, who writes: "I trust the augurs not, who with mere words / Enrich men's ears, to load themselves with gold"].
También Favorino, queriendo apartar a los mancebos d'estos adivinos que prometen decir lo porvenir, concluía con estas palabras: "que, aunque dijese verdad, no habían de consultarlos porque o dicen cosas adversas o prósperas. Si dicen prósperas y engañan, estarás esperando en vano. Si dicen cosas adversas y mienten, tomarás pesar y siempre estarás temendo en vano. Si responden cosas verdaderas y éstas no son prósperas, luego	35. Idem Favorinus detertere volens ac depellere adulescentes a genethliacis istis et quibusdam aliis id genus, qui prodigiosis artibus futura omnia dicturos pollicentur, nullo pacto adeundos eos esse consulendosque huiusmodi argumentis concludebat: 36. "Aut adversa" inquit "eventura dicunt alit prospera. Si dicunt prospera et fallunt, miser fies frustra exspectando; si adversa dicunt et mentiuntur, miser fies frustra timendo; sin vera respondent

⁵⁴ Compare *Baldo* (2002, 83) with Aulus Gellius, *The Attic Nights* XIV, 1, 34–35. Translation by Rolfe (1948, 3 and 19–20).

Continued

Baldo

serás desdichado en tu corazón antes que te acontezca. Si te prometen cosas dichosas y éstas han de acontecer, entonces claramente ternás dos daños, que la esperanza te fatigará y ella misma te desflorará una parte del gozo que has de tomar'. Así por ninguna vía habemos de usar d'estos hombres que adivinan lo porvenir".

[Favorinus, also wanting to separate the youth from these seers who swear they can tell the future, concluded with these words: "which, though they told the truth, one must not consult with them, for they say things that are either adverse or auspicious. If they say auspicious things and deceive, you will be waiting in vain. If they say adverse things and lie, you will take it to heart and will always fear in vain. If they reply with truths, and these are not auspicious, then you will be wretched of heart before it even happens to you. If they promise you happy things, and these then happen, you will do yourself two ills: hope will exhaust you and the very same will defile a part of the joy that you have had. Thus, in no way must we avail ourselves of those men who predict the future".]

Noctium atticarum [The attic nights] XIV, 1

eaque sunt non prospera, iam inde ex animo miser fies, antequam e fato fias; si felicia promittunt eaque eventura sunt, tum plane duo erunt incommoda: et exspectatio te spei suspensum fatigabit, et futurum gaudii fructum spes tibi iam prae floraverit. Nullo igitur pacto utendum est istiusmodi hominibus res futuras praesagientibus".

[Favorinus too, wishing to deter and turn away young men from such calculators of nativities and from certain others of that kind, who profess to reveal all the future by means of magic arts, concluded with arguments of this sort, to show that they ought by no means to be resorted to and consulted. "They predict", said he, "either adverse or prosperous events. If they foretell prosperity and deceive you, you will be made wretched by vain expectations; if they foretell adversity and lie, you will be made wretched by useless fears. But if they predict truly and the events are unhappy, you will thereby be made wretched by anticipation, before you are fated to be so; if on the contrary they promise prosperity and it comes to pass, then there will clearly be two disadvantages: the anticipation of your hopes will wear you out with suspense, and hope will in advance have reaped the fruit of your approaching happiness. Therefore there is every reason why you should not resort to men of that kind, who profess knowledge of the future].

To top it off, our *doctor rusticus* adds a quotation from the Horatian *Odes* to his own creation: "Aún el poeta Horacio dice: 'Huye de preguntar qué ha de ser el día de mañana'"⁵⁵ [Even the poet Horace says: 'flee from asking what is to be tomorrow']. The repetition in the use of introductory formulas like "de adonde" [from where], "también" [also] o "aún" [even], seems to point to the fact that the

⁵⁵ Horace, *Carminum* I, IX, v. 13: "Quid si futurum cras, fuge quaerere" [Avoid asking what tomorrow will bring].

anonymous author does nothing but copy quotations from a source that was possibly his own book of notes taken while reading the classics, which are integrated without literary ambition into his creation, in the function of the well-known standard of authority.

To conclude, I would like to return briefly to the *Silva* by Mexía: in chapter XIII of the fourth part that was first published in 1550–1551 (Valladolid, Juan de Villaquirán)⁵⁶ and thus some years after our book of chivalry, we find, under the title “De la aguda razón e argumento con que Faborino, filósofo, probaba e amonestaba que ninguno debe preguntar a los astrólogos las cosas por venir, ni saber lo que les ha de acontecer”⁵⁷ [On the sharp reason and argument with which Favorinus, philosopher, demonstrated and warned that no one must ask astrologers about future things, nor must they know what will happen to them] a refutation of predictive astrology that – in addition to the testimony of Favorinus – is reminiscent of the moralistic commentary in *Baldo* which we have just discussed: beyond the censoring of human curiosity and the desire to “saber las cosas que les han de suceder”⁵⁸ [know those things that will happen to them], Pedro Mexía quotes the sophist philosopher originally from Arles “según que Aulo Gelio refiere dél”⁵⁹ [as Aulus Gellius refers to him]. As insignificant as this coincidence may seem, it represents a palpable confirmation of several analysis proposals that I have articulated in this study; in particular, of the pedagogical dimension that fictional works like the *Baldo* have, thanks to the use of that very characteristic extradiegetic commentary, which invites us to consider their reception – just as in the case of the *Guzmán* – as well as didactic moral miscellanies.

At the end of the first book of the *Baldo*, the knights, and also the rogue, are purified when they witness a fight between the vices and the virtues, which goes back to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, after which they appear to be transformed into serious heroes. This conversion of the protagonists, which involves the disappearance of the moralistic commentaries in the second and third books, was necessary because the hypotexts of the final books are the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia*, which evidently require another type of character, one who can carry out heroic feats. With regard to Cíngar, it is noteworthy that he continues to be a wise man with a certain roguish air, even though it may be other competences that characterise him; they are useful forms of knowledge: urban con-

⁵⁶ See Castro's introduction in his edition of the *Silva de varia lección* (1990, 55 and note 90).

⁵⁷ Mexía (2003, 863).

⁵⁸ Mexía (2003, 864).

⁵⁹ Mexía (2003, 863).

struction, the art of war, and the construction of siege equipment.⁶⁰ So these things, this curious book of chivalry, as one may suspect of other Spanish texts with relatively close dates of publication, may be read, ultimately, as a book about the adventures of knowledge.

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⁶⁰ See Gernert (2008, 251–267).

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The Accumulation of (un)useful Knowledge in the Moralistic Commentaries of the *Baldo* and the *Guzmán de Alfarache*

Costumbre mía es y no la tengo por mala, ir en mis escritos llevando por delante la parte curiosa de aquello que se me ofrece, por no hacer otro camino. Si es poco, aun el rejalgar no daña, y si bueno, siempre y en toda parte aprovecha.¹

[It is my habit, and I do not consider it a bad one, to maintain curiosity in my writings for that which is offered to me in not taking another path. If it seems but little, even realgar does no harm; and if it is good, it is everywhere and always of good use.]

This is what Mateo Alemán confesses to us in his *San Antonio de Padua*, published between the first and second part of the *Guzmán de Alfarache*. The Sevillian author refers to this very theme as dealt with in the present volume: the accumulation of curiosities and knowledge of various origins and their usefulness, defended by way of a stroke of wishful thinking, not dissimilar from the *captatio benevolentiae* characteristic of a prologue. A similar line of argumentation is found in the prologue intended for “the discrete reader” of *Guzmán de Alfarache* himself.

No es todo de mi aljaba; mucho escogí de doctos varones y santos. Eso te alabo y vendo. Y pues no hay cosa buena que no proceda de las manos de Dios, ni tan mala de que no le resulte alguna gloria, y en todo tiene parte, abraza, recibe en ti la provechosa, dejando lo no tal o malo como mío. Aunque estoy confiado que las cosas que no pueden dañar suelen aprovechar muchas veces.²

[These Arrowes are not all of mine owne Quiuer, nor this honey that I set before thee, all of mine owne hiue; much of their sweetnesse did I sucke from holy and learned men; this is merchantable ware, well-conditioned; and for such I recommend it vnto thee. And because there is no goodthing, which doth not proceed from the hands of God; nor anything so bad, whereof some glory doth not result to his diuine Maiestie (as hauing a part in euery thing) imbrace, and giue a friendly reception to that which may be profitable for thee, reiecting that which is o[therwise, or whatsoeuer else is bad, as meerely mine: Albeit I am very confident, that those things which cannot hurt, are wont many times to doe much good.]

1 Alemán, *San Antonio de Padua*, II, iv (1607, 9r); see Rico (1967, 173) and Close (2007, 111): “Según esto, para el sevillano, incluso lo marginalmente asociado al tema principal es admisible” [According to this, for the Sevillian, even things marginally associated to the principal theme are admissible].

2 Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, “Del mismo al discreto lector” (2012, 14–15). I use the edition by Gómez Canseco, which I compare with the editions of Rico and Micó. In the following I quote from the English translation by James Mabbe (1623, w/o pages).

In addition to insisting on the moral benefit of the fruits of his reading, he gives us a clear account of the origin of the digressions, which he presents as the result of a process of conscious selection (“escogí” [I chose]), insinuating that it is the product of a meticulous study of the classics that he himself has undertaken. Elsewhere, however, the narrator betrays himself when he characterises the parts of his discourse as being a more random product:

Yo también he ido tras de mi pensamiento, sin pensar parar en el mundo; mas, como el fin que llevo es fabricar un hombre perfeto, siempre que hallo piedras para el edificio las voy amontonando. Son mi centro aquestas ocasiones y camino con ellas a él.³

[I likewise, haue followed mine owne idle humour, not thinking vpon any settled course in this world; but because the end which I intend, is to build vp a perfect man, still as I meet with stones fit for this building, I goe setting of them vp; these occasions, are my Center, and by them, as by so many lines, I come thereunto.]

What I am interested in analysing in this article is the origin of some of the “stones” with which the building of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* is constructed, comparing it to the moralistic commentaries of the *Baldo*,⁴ and placing special emphasis on its relationship to the miscellanies and polyantheas in use at the time.

It is well known, and there is no need to for me to belabour this point, that the *Guzmán de Alfarache* is a heterogeneous work,⁵ which is similar to the genre of miscellany⁶ to such an extent that Luis Gómez Canseco observes in his new

3 Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, II, I, vii (2012, 441). Translation Mabbe (1623, w/o pages).

4 I had already tackled this theme from a few points of view in Gernert (2010), (2013) and (2015).

5 See chapter II “Die strukturelle Heterogenität des *Guzmán de Alfarache*” [Structural heterogeneity of *Guzmán de Alfarache*] in Matzat (2000, 272 *passim*).

6 See Rallo Gruss (1984, 165), Michaud (1987, 179–180), Monti (1990, 123), Close (2007, 110) as well as Gernert (2010) and (2015). See also the chapter on the *Silva* in Cros (1967a, 150–162) and the chapter “De l’explication de textes ou *lectio* aux miscellanées” in Cros (1967b, 150–162) in which he observes: “Lu, accueilli et diffusé comme une miscellanée dans une partie de l’Europe du XVIIe siècle, le *Livre du Gueux* doit lui-même beaucoup à ces collections de tous ordres et, en particulier, son érudition qui est souvent une érudition de seconde main. C’est ainsi qu’on peut y révéler des emprunts manifestes à Pedro Mexía (*Silva de varia lección*), Torquemada (*Coloquios satíricos*), Boaistuau (*Histoires prodigieuses*), L. B. Alberti (*Momus*), Il Doni (*Mondi Celesti, terrestri et infernali*), Ludovico Guicciardini (*L’hore di recreatione*), tandis qu’un certain nombre de rapprochements s’imposent avec les *Serées* de Bouchet et, d’une manière générale, avec les collections de matières facétieuses” (1967b, 161) [Read, received and disseminated as a miscellany in a part of Europe in the seventeenth century, the *Book of the Rogue* owes itself largely to these collections, particularly its erudition that is very often a second hand erudition. For instance, one can uncover manifest borrowings from Pedro Mexía (*Silva de varia*

edition of the *Guzmán* that we can read Alemán's novel as “una *Silva de varia lección* con protagonista” [a *Silva de varia lección* with a protagonist] and highlights the “buscada estética de la diversidad” [desired aesthetic of diversity], thanks to which “se podría describir el libro como una suma de materiales heterogéneos trenzados en torno al núcleo narrativo que constituye la vida de Guzmán”⁷ [the book could be described as a summation of heterogeneous materials plaited around the narrative centre that constitutes the life of Guzmán]. In an article published in 1967 titled “Estructuras y reflejos de estructuras en el *Guzmán de Alfarache*” [Structures and reflections of structures in the *Guzmán de Alfarache*] Francisco Rico illustrated, in a masterful way, Mateo Alemán's debt to encyclopaedic and polyanthean works like the *Silva de varia lección* by Pedro Mexía or the *Lugares comunes de conceptos, dichos, y sentencias en diversas materias* [Common Places of Concepts, Sayings, and Judgments, in Diverse Subjects] by Juan de Aranda.⁸ Rico, in exemplary fashion, compared the beginning of chapter II, i, 3, of the *Guzmán de Alfarache*, with the eighteenth chapter of the fourth part of the *Silva de varia lección*⁹ and the reflections on lies and deceit of both authors. Don Francisco concludes:

[...] creo que todo el capítulo, por encima de las tenues coincidencias en la letra, refleja la estructura del II, xvi, de la *Silva*. No bastarían a sostener tal creencia, por supuesto, los paralelos en el tema y en la disposición general [...]; lo importante me parece el hecho de que la conclusión [...] que resume e ilustra la anterior disertación sobre el ser, peligro y clases de la mentira, coincida con el *Guzmán* en centrarse en los engaños de la cosmética, tal ocultar la edad tiñéndose las canas: hasta el punto de que el “traía la mentira pública en el rostro y en la cabeza” es, menos agudamente, el “mienten por la barba” de la *Atalaya*.¹⁰

lección), Torquemada (*Coloquios satíricos*), Boaistuau (*Histoires prodigieuses*), L. B. Alberti (*Momus*), Doni (*Mondi Celesti, terrestri et infernali*), Ludovico Guicciardini (*L'hore di recreatione*), while a certain number of analogies with the *Serées* of Bouchet are obvious and, in a more general way, with the collections of facetious material].

7 Gómez Canseco in his edition of the *Guzmán* (2012, 802).

8 With the digital library *Poliantea* (*Enciclopedias, repertorios de lugares comunes y misceláneas de erudición humanística*) [Polyanthea (*Encyclopaedias, repertoires of common and miscellaneous places of humanistic erudition*)], Sagrario López Poza makes available to researchers a working tool of great usefulness.

9 Rico (1967, 180 *passim*).

10 Rico (1967, 181–182); see also Rico (1967, 182): “La organización del material en aquella [i.e. la *Silva*] proporcionaba un modelo para disponer las propias reflexiones sobre la cuestión; y la anécdota final de la *Silva* mostraba un camino para sintetizar los preliminares y aplicarlos al vivir del protagonista” [The organisation of the material in it (i.e., the *Silva*) offered a model for using the same reflections on the matter; and the final anecdote of the *Silva* showed a path to synthesising the first drafts and apply them to the life of the protagonist].

[... I believe the entire chapter, beyond the tenuous coincidences in the writing, reflects the structure of chapter II, xvi, of the *Silva*. Of course, such a belief could not be sustained by the parallels in the topic and the general order ...; the important point seems to me to be the fact that the conclusion ... which summarises and illustrates the previous dissertation on forms, danger, and the types of falsehood, coincides with the *Guzmán*, in that it centres on the cosmetic deceptions, such as hide one's age by dying grey hair: to the point that "he carried the outward lie on in his face and in his head" is, less severely, the "they lie with their beards" from the *Atalaya*.]

In his classic book on *Novela picaresca y punto de vista* [*The Picaresque Novel and Point of View*], Rico developed this idea and observed that the *Guzmán de Alfarache* "nace de un más amplio intento aleccionador (apoyado esencialmente en la novela, sí, pero también en otros géneros familiares en la época; la *silva* o miscelánea, por ejemplo)"¹¹ [is born of a wider, exemplary attempt (largely, it is true, based on the novel but also on other familiar genres of the time; the *silva* or miscellany, for example)]. In summation, the "diccionarios secretos del Siglo de Oro" [secret dictionaries of the Golden Age], as Víctor Infantes (1988) calls them, are inter-texts of the book by Alemán, in the structure as well as in the moral and didactic content.

The collection most broadly used by Mateo Alemán might not be the *Silva* of Mexía, but rather the *Lugares comunes de conceptos, dichos, y sentencias en diversas materias* of Juan de Aranda, published in Seville in 1595,¹² an influence noticed early on by Francisco Rico, who, in his edition, pointed out a few instances. Subsequently, Edmond Cros also mentions him from time to time, although it was the editions of José María Micó and of Luis Gómez Canseco¹³ that offered a considerably increased number of references to Juan de Aranda.

We know nothing of this author, occasionally mentioned in passing in studies on the florilegia of the Golden Age,¹⁴ that is not deduced from the paratexts of his only published book,¹⁵ which has hardly ever been studied.¹⁶ Given that it

¹¹ Rico (1982 [1970], 61–62).

¹² There is a reedition from Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta, 1613.

¹³ Gómez Canseco, in his edition of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* (2012, 36, nota 65), concedes to don Francisco the merit of having noticed the importance of the *Lugares comunes* for the *Guzmán de Alfarache*: "Fue Francisco Rico el primero en señalar a Aranda como fuente esencial para Alemán" [It was Francisco Rico who first identified Aranda as an essential source for Alemán].

¹⁴ See Infantes (1988, 253, note 40).

¹⁵ On the title page and in the "Aprobación" [Approval], signed by Tomás Gracián Dantisco, he appears as graduate and inhabitant of Jaén.

¹⁶ The only exception is a work by a young Canadian hispanist, Erin Alice Cowling, read at a conference in 2005, *Canadian Association of Hispanists, University of Western Ontario, London*

was a working tool, perhaps for more than one author of the Golden Age, it is worth looking closely at his considerations of his method. In the brief “Prólogo al lector” [Prologue to the reader], the author describes concisely his labour of compilation:

Digo que en este libro trato de ciento y sesenta y siete materias las más comunes y platicables que hay que son de vicios y virtudes, y cosas naturales y morales, acerca de las cuales he recopilado los mejores dichos, sentencias¹⁷ y razones que se han podido hallar y recoger de mucha summa de libros y traducido de latín en buen castellano. El orden solo que se guarda es que para buscar cualquier materia se ha de ir a la tabla que está al fin y allí se cita.¹⁸

[I mean that, in this book, I debate the most common and disputable of one hundred and sixty-seven subjects matters in existence, which cover vices and virtues, things natural and moral, about which I have compiled the finest sayings, judgments and reasonings that have been found and collected from a great number of books, translated from Latin into fair Romance. The only order which is safeguarded is such that, to search for any subject, one must go to the table at the end, and there find it cited.]

It is necessary to focus briefly on some aspects, chiefly the organisation of the 167 heterogeneous subjects, compiled in an alphabetical table¹⁹ at the end of the book, which allows us to quickly find the materials that he calls ‘platicables’²⁰ [disputable], that is, which help in maintaining an agreeable conversation and take on the appearance of great erudition – today we would call this self fashioning.

The content continues to appear – just as in Pedro Mexía –²¹ as a result of the ‘varia lección’, which implies that it was the same author who read the clas-

Ontario, May 28–31, and available thanks to academia.edu, which deals with “La gestión del conocimiento en el mundo barroco: los *Lugares comunes de conceptos* de Juan de Aranda” [The managing of knowledge in the Baroque world: the *Lugares comunes de conceptos* of Juan de Aranda].

17 The error “sentencia” [judgment] was amended in the 1613 edition.

18 Aranda (1595, w/o pagination).

19 Muñoz (2011, 591) compares the alphabetical list of subjects in Juan de Aranda to the *Index locorum communium* in the fifteenth-century impressions of the medieval collection of the Irish theologian, Thomas of Hibernia.

20 With the same meaning in Enrique de Villena (“por viento suaue paçífico de eloquencia a platicable puerto” (1995, 158v) [by soft, gentle wind of eloquence, unto a conversable port] and in Quevedo: “Ni se puede dezir, que esto no es platicable, solo puede decirse, que no se platica, debiendo platicarse” (1966, 307) [It cannot even be said, that this is not conversable, it can only be said, that one does not converse, though one should].

21 “[...] habiendo gastado mucha parte de mi vida en leer y pasar muchos libros [...] parecióme que si desto yo había alcanzado alguna erudición o noticia de cosas, que [...] tenía obligación a

sical writers and who selected a few passages that he deemed relevant, translating them from Latin into Spanish. We will soon see that this, at least in part, is false, given how obvious it is that he owes a debt to previous collections, written in Spanish. This plagiarism must have weighed heavily on his conscience, a fact that would explain this strange line of reasoning in the aforementioned prologue:

En lo demás no se tiene respecto a una materia más que a otra, sino como se ofrecen, en las cuales se procura comprobar cualquier dicho, razón o sentencia con su auctor, muchas de las cuales y otras de las que no le tienen son propias y otras tan naturales y conocidas que no tienen necesidad de prueba.²²

[In everything else there is no more regard for one subject than for another, rather they appear as they are offered, and in them one can ascertain any saying, reasoning or judgment with its author, many of which, and others that it does not contain, are his own, and others so authentic and well-known that they need no test.]

In order to understand exactly what Juan de Aranda means to convey with these words, we need to compare his *Lugares comunes* with the *Silva de varia lección*, which he copies on repeated occasions at the bottom of the text without mentioning it, even if – as must be recognised – he named ‘Pero Mexía’ among the “autores que se citan en este libro” [authors cited in this book].²³ Now we will analyse some concrete examples that are interesting as well as inter-texts of the *Guzmán de Alfarache*. First, I will return to the cited chapter of the *Silva* on lying, which begins:

Uno de los más aborrecibles y peores vicios que los hombres pueden tener es el mentir, porque con el mentiroso ninguna cosa se puede tratar ni platicar con seguridad. La mentira todas las cosas hace sospechosas; e, para entender cuán mala cosa es, basta saber que es derechamente contraria a la verdad, que es Dios, e que el padre y autor della fue el diablo.²⁴

[One of the worst and most abhorrent vices that men can have is lying, because with a liar, nothing can be addressed or debated in safety. The lie makes all things suspicious; and, to

lo comunicar y hacer participantes dellos a mis naturales y vecinos, escribiendo yo alguna cosa que fuese común y pública a todos” (Mexía 2003, 39–40) [... having spent the better part of my life reading and reviewing many books ... it seemed to me that from this I had attained certain erudition or notice of things, which ... I was obliged to communicate and make participants of my kin and fellows, writing something that was accessible and public to all]. I use the Lerner edition, which I compare to the editions by Castro.

²² Aranda (1595, w/o pagination).

²³ Aranda (1595, w/o pagination).

²⁴ Mexía (2003, 495).

understand just how bad a thing it is, one has only to know that it is directly contrary to the truth, which is God, and that its father and creator was the devil.]

It is worth noticing that Juan de Aranda literally transcribed this beginning in his *Lugares comunes*²⁵ without citing Pedro Mexía. Thus, it is worth the effort to compare both works in order to determine what the relationship between these collections of various eruditions is.

For this purpose, the chapter “De la buena fortuna” [Of Good Fortune] is particularly revealing. At its beginning, Aranda transcribes almost literally what Mexía says in his *Silva* toward the middle of chapter 38 of the second book, to then continue transforming Mexía’s adjacent discourse into a less discursive and more encyclopaedic text. To that end, he changes the formula “según Lactancio Firmiano” [according to Firmianus Lactantius] in the author’s indication into a note in the margin, but he textually transcribes Mexía’s translation of the *Divine Institutes* of the Christian apologist. Following this, Arando repeats, faithfully once again, what Mexía compiles concerning various representations of Fortune, compared either with glass or with its famous wheel. Afterward, he omits the quotations by Thales and by Socrates from the *Silva* in order to continue with what Mexía compiles from Apuleius, including the source reference to the cited book of the *Golden Ass*, which he passes from the text to the note in the margin. Conversely, in other instances his indications are more precise, although only if his source provides them, as is the case in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*, quoted later on. After mentioning Apuleius, Aranda resumes the thread of the *Silva*, putting forward the opinions of Thales and Socrates, previously omitted, probably with the intention of organising the quotations: first, the representations of the allegorical character as being without feet, like glass, with a wheel, and blind, and secondly, comparisons with the theatre.

With that in mind, it is apparently very difficult to decide whether Mateo Alemán is inspired by Mexía or Aranda. The same doubt that arises regarding the cited reflections on lying sets up the seventh chapter of the second book of the first part that deals with Fortune:

En cualquier acaecimiento, más vale saber que haber; porque, si la Fortuna se rebelare, nunca la ciencia desampara al hombre. La hacienda se gasta, la ciencia crece; y es de mayor estimación lo poco que el sabio sabe que lo mucho que el rico tiene. No hay quien dude los excesos que a la Fortuna hace la ciencia, no obstante que ambas aguijan a un fin de adornar y levantar a los hombres. Pintaron varios filósofos a la Fortuna en varios modos, por ser en todo tan varia; cada uno la dibujó según la halló para sí o la consi-

25 Aranda (1595, 81v s.v. mentira).

deró en el otro. Si es buena, es madrastra de toda virtud; si mala, madre de todo vicio, y al que más favorece, para mayor trabajo lo guarda. Es de vidro, instable, sin sosiego, como figura esférica en cuerpo plano. Lo que hoy da, quita mañana. Es la resaca de la mar. Tráenos rodando y volteando, hasta dejarnos una vez en seco en los márgenes de la muerte, de donde jamás vuelve a cobrarnos; y en cuanto vivimos obligándonos, como a representantes, a estudiar papeles y cosas nuevas que salir a representar en el tablado del mundo.²⁶

[In all chances whatsoever that may befall vs in this world, Mas vale Saber, que auer; it is better to be wise, then to be rich; For though Fortune should play the Rebell, yet Knowledge neuer forsakes a man. Wealth may be wasted, but Knowledge increaseth; and of more worth is that lit[t]le, which a wise man knowes; then all that which a rich man inioyeth. There is no man (I thinke) makes any quelstion that Wisdome excelleth Fortune; though both of them put forward, and hasten to one and the same end; which is, to adorne and set forth men, and to raise them to honour. Diuers Philosophers, did diuersly paint forth Fortune, because in all things she is her selfe so diuerse. Euery one did draw her forth in that forme, as hee found it did accord with himselfe, or as hee did consider it in another. If she be good, she is the Step-dame to all Vertue; if bad, the Mother to all Vice. And him, whom she most fauour-eth, she reserueth for most miserie: her courtesies euer ending in disgraces. She is brittle, vnstable, restless; like a Sphericall Figure, in a plaine body. That, which she giues to day, she takes away to morow: she is the flowing of the Sea, tossing and tumbling vs to and fro, till she leaue vs at last vpon drie land, on Deaths shore, from which she neuer returns to recouer vs; And while we liue, inioyning vs (like Players to con ouer our parts, and to learne daily new toyes & deuices, to present them vpon the stage of this World.)]

What caught my attention in this context is the fact that Alemán, on many occasions, tends to eliminate – as does Juan de Aranda – references to the authorities to whom his moralistic reflections date back. This textual practice distinguishes him as much from the *Silva*²⁷ as from the moralistic commentaries of the *Baldo*

26 Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, II, vii (2012, 214), translation Mabbe (1623, w/o pages). While Cros (1967a, 50–51) and Rico, in his edition of the *Guzmán* (1983, 308, note 4), refer us only to the *Silva de varia lección*, the other editors of the text, as well as Micó (1987, I, 330, note 4) and to a larger extent Gómez Canseco (2012, 214, notes 2, 4 and 5) have doubts as to which of the two collections, Mexía or Aranda, was Alemán's model. Gómez Canseco (2012, 214, note 6) says: "Son todos motivos recurrentes para la representación de la fortuna en la Antigüedad, que aparecen en la *Silva* de Pero Mexía o en Juan de Aranda a veces casi literalmente" [these are all recurrent motives for the representation of Fortune in Antiquity, which appear in the *Silva* of Pedro Mexía or in Juan de Aranda sometimes almost literally], specifying in the supplementary note 214.5. (2012, 1255–1256): "Pero Mexía dedicó el capítulo II, 38 de su *Silva*, donde atribuye a Tales de Miletio la máxima que recoge Alemán [...]. Juan de Aranda sigue a la letra las páginas de Mexía en sus *Lugares comunes*" [Pedro Mexía dedicated chapter II, 38 of his *Silva*, where he attributes the core idea gathered by Alemán to Thales of Miletus ... Juan de Aranda follows Mexía's pages to the letter in his *Lugares comunes*].

27 According to what emerges in the fourth chapter of the *Jardín de Flores curiosas* [Garden of Curious Flowers] by Torquemada ("El cuarto, de qué cosa es fortuna y caso, y en qué difieren, y

which abound in a name dropping *avant la lettre*, as we can see in the “Adición del intérprete” [Interpreter’s addition] following chapter VII of the first book (“De cómo Falqueto contó la fábula y ficción en que fue tornado perro y los trabajos que pasó en tanto que lo fue hasta que fue vuelto en medio perro” [How Falqueto told the fable and fiction in which he was turned into a dog, and how he suffered in that state until he was made into half a dog]) and which also is about lying:

De adonde dice Cicerón en el primero de *Los oficios*: “No hay cosa más fea que la mentira”. De aquí, siendo preguntado Aristóteles – cómo cuenta Laercio – “qué ganaban los mentirosos, respondió que, cuando dijeren verdad, no se les crea”. Sócrates dice así: “¿No sabes la misma mentira todos los hombres y los dioses la aborescen?” – como dice Platón en el libro *De república*.²⁸

[From where Cicero says in the first of *On Duties*: “There is nothing uglier than the lie”. From here, Aristotle being asked – as Laërtius recounts – “what did liars gain,” he responded that, when they tell the truth, one must not believe them”. Socrates says: “Do you not know that the lie itself is abhorred by men and the gods?” – as Plato says in the book *The Republic*.]

The anonymous author quotes Cicero,²⁹ Diogenes Laërtius³⁰ and Plato³¹, as a comparison with the classical texts demonstrates, to add weight to his argument.

qué es dicha, ventura, felicidad y constelación y hado; y cómo influyen los cuerpos celestiales y si son causa de algunos daños que vienen al mundo, con otras cosas curiosas” [The fourth, about what fortune and fate are, and how they differ, and what is joy, fortune, happiness, constellation and fate; and what influences heavenly bodies have and if they are the cause of any harm that comes to the world, with other curious things]) Mexía considered himself an authority on this topic: “Y cierto no lo mostró hoy en la materia que tratábamos, que era de fortuna y caso; y a lo que me pareció, él debía de acabar de ver un capítulo que Pero Mejía hace en su *Silva* tratando de esto, porque nunca salió dello ni de porfiar que no había fortuna, sino solo Dios, como el mesmo Pero Mejía lo dice; y no había escuchar razón ni querer entender cosa que se le dijese” (2003, 744) [And he did not show it to be true today in the subject with which we were dealing, which was fortune and circumstance; and as it seemed to me, he should have seen a chapter that Pedro Mexía writes in his *Silva* that deals with this, because it never emerged from it, even through great effort, that there was no Fortune, rather only God, as Pedro Mexía himself says; and there was no listening to reason nor desire to understand anything said].²⁸ Baldo (2002, 31); the pages refer to my edition of the text, but I modernise the spelling and introduce quotation marks and italics to indicate the quotations.

²⁹ Cicero, *De officiis*, I, 150: “nihil enim proficiant, nisi admodum mentiantur; nec vero est quicquam turpius vanitate” [For they would make no profit unless they told sufficient lies, and nothing is more dishonourable than falsehood, translation Griffin and Atkins 1991, 58].

³⁰ Diogenes Laërtius, *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, V, viii: “Al preguntarle qué ganancia es la de los mentirosos, respondió que cuando dicen la verdad no son creídos” [Upon asking him what liars gain, he replied that when they tell the truth, they are not believed].

In another section, the author makes explicit reference to this textual practice, saying: “Y porque no parezca que hablo sin autor, diré las palabras que – según cuenta Aulo Gelio en el décimo libro de sus *Noches áticas* – las dijo Platón”³² [And so that it does not seem that I speak without an author, I will say the words that – as Aulus Gellius recounts in the tenth book of his *Attic Nights* – Plato said], this time relying on one of his preferred miscellanies.³³ The author of the *Baldo* shows a spirit very similar to the one that nurtures the *Silva* of Mexía, published within only a few years in the same printing house in Seville, the one belonging to Domenico de Robertis, where both authors probably crossed paths at some point.

The same observations would merit the reflections of the author of the *Baldo* on vengeance, as they in part use the same classical quotations as the *Guzmán*, though their manner of inserting them may vary greatly, as much with respect to the microstructure as with respect to the macrostructure. To be more precise: Unlike *Guzmán de Alfarache*,³⁴ the moralistic reflections of the *Baldo* limit themselves to extradiegetic comments that are clearly distinguished from the chivalric narration, being given titles like “moralidad” [morality], “adición del trasladador” [translator’s addition], or – as is the case in the chapter on vengeance – “exclamación” [exclamation]. To a certain extent, it is the same textual practice that is used in *La pícara Justina*, which ends its chapters with a section called “apro-

31 Plato, *Politeia*, II, xix, 382a: “¿No sabes – interrogué – que la verdadera mentira, si es lícito emplear esta expresión, es algo odiado por todos los dioses y hombres?” [Do you not know – I asked– that the real lie, if it is permissible to use that expression, is something hated by all gods and men?].

32 *Baldo* (2002, 61).

33 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, Liber X, 22, 3–14 and 22.

34 For the relationship between the moralistic reflections of the *Guzmán* and those of the *Baldo* see König (2003, 136): “Sus comentarios filosófico-morales son, en otro plano, continuación de lo que el autor del *Baldo* había insertado, en forma de numerosas *moralizaciones* extensas, como comentarios interpretativos en las ‘fantasías’ de Folengo. La gran innovación de Mateo Alemán fue confiar estos comentarios al mismo pícaro que está describiendo su vida, con lo cual simultáneamente se presenta a sí mismo y a su entorno y lleva a cabo una crítica desde una perspectiva que, consecuente y virtuosamente, posee una estructura bipolar” [His philosophic-moralistic commentaries are, on another level, a continuation of what the author of the *Baldo* had inserted, in the form of numerous and extensive *moralisations*, like interpretative commentaries on the ‘fantasies’ of Folengo. Mateo Alemán’s great innovation was to confide these commentaries to the same rogue who is describing his life, with which he simultaneously presents himself and his environment, and he executes a criticism from a perspective that, consequently and virtuously, possess a bipolar structure]; as well as Gernert (2010).

vechamiento”³⁵ [utilisation], in which a moral lesson is supposedly extracted from the previous chapter, a sort of gloss not far removed from the picaresque tradition to which it somehow belongs. The “Exclamación” of the *Baldo* that now interests me follows chapter XXIII of the first book, which tells of “Cómo la maga Muselina prendió a Falqueto y mató engañosamente a Leonardo porque no quiso cumplir su voluntad y dañado propósito” [How the sorceress Muselina took hold of Falqueto and deceptively killed Leonardo because he refused to comply with her will and harmful intent]. The evil of the female character mentioned lays the groundwork for a long, misogynistic dissertation in the annex that, at certain point, speaks of the thirst for vengeance that characterises women, and then continues speaking of the satisfaction of harm in general, probably using the occasion to weave in yet another classical quotation:

[...] es también amiga de venganza si le han injuriado [...]. Lo cual aprueba Juvenal diciendo: “Ninguno se goza más con la venganza que la mujer”. Al contrario d’esto hace el corazón noble y generoso, de quien escribe Séneca así: “Si fueres magnánimo, cuando vieres a tu enemigo en tu poder, pensarás que es venganza haber podido vengarse porque sabrás que es muy honrado y gran género de venganza el perdonar al que yerra”.³⁶

[... she is also a friend to vengeance if she has been wronged ... Which Juvenal confirms, saying: “No one relishes vengeance more than a woman”. Contrary to this is the heart made noble and generous, of which people Seneca writes: “If you will be magnanimous, when you see your enemy under your power, you will think that it is vengeance to have been able to avenge yourself, because you will know that it is very honourable and of a better sort of vengeance to extend pardon to the one who errs”.]

35 For the relationship between picaresque narration and moralistic digression, the study by Rico (1982 [1970], 82) is still fundamental: “Hay, por otra parte, buen número de *moralités* aducidas como presupuesto teórico de un suceso o una noticia, de suerte que un tramado de razonamientos se proyecta sobre el concreto acaecer del personaje; la doctrina abstracta se encarna en el individuo o cuaja en la situación, y no debe sorprendernos: si las peripecias de Guzmán actor tendían a dar cuenta del Guzmán autor y nos presentaban la paulatina obtención de un punto de vista, luego todo podía partir de él, marchar “de la definición a lo definido” [...], de la doctrina penosamente conquistada a la vida que la comprobaba” [There are, moreover, a good number of *moralités* put forth as a theoretical estimate of an event or story, such that a branch of reasonings is projected about the exact downfall of the character; the abstract doctrine is embodied in the individual or moulded into the situation, and it should not surprise us: if the adventures of Guzmán, actor, became aware of Guzmán the author and presented us with the gradual attainment of a point of view, everything could then depart from him, moving from “the definition to the thing defined” [...], from the painfully acquired doctrine to the life that confirmed it].

36 *Baldo* (2002, 88).

The author again holds to his Latin erudition with quotations from Juvenal³⁷ and Seneca, who reappear in the *Guzmán de Alfarache*, where the situation is completely different: After having eaten the Spanish omelette with hatchling eggs, the muleteer tells the young Guzmanillo how two boys avenged the injury done to the matron of the inn. This episode leads on to the old cleric giving “un sermón en toda regla, centrado, además, en un asunto esencial para la doctrina cristiana como es el amor hacia los enemigos” [a sermon proper, being about a matter essential to Christian doctrine, which is love toward one’s enemies], according to Gómez Canseco.³⁸ As Matzat observed, the narrator first literally repeats the cleric’s speech, in order to continue by entering into a sort of dialogue with the reader:³⁹

Mucho quisiera tener en la memoria la buena doctrina que a este propósito me dijo, para poder aquí repetirla, porque toda era del cielo, finísima Escritura sagrada. Desde entonces propuse aprovecharme de ella con muchas veras. Y si bien se considera, dijo muy bien. ¿Cuál hay mayor venganza que poder haberse vengado?⁴⁰

[I would faine haue committed to memory that good doctrine which hee deliuered vnto me to this purpose, that I might repeat it heere vnto you. For it was all heauenly stuffe. Fine, most fine holy Scripture. From that time forward I vnfeignedly propounded to my selfe to make true profit thereof. And if it be well considered, he spake very home, and well vnto mee. What greater reuenge can there be, then that a man may be reuenged if hee will?]

It is striking that Guzmanillo begins his own reflections with a rhetorical question that is the core of a phrase attributed to Seneca⁴¹ by the anonymous author of the *Baldo* in the moralistic commentary just quoted. In the works of the Roman philosopher, there are many reflections about vengeance,⁴² but the quo-

37 Juvenal, *Saturae* XIII, vv. 191–191: “quod uindicta / nemo magis gaudet quam femina” [No one relishes vengeance more than a woman].

38 Gómez Canseco in his edition of the *Guzmán* (2012, 86, note 73); see also Rico (1982 [1970], 62): “[...] mientras las aventuras del pícaro valen como sermones (directamente o ex contrario, aduciendo ejemplos positivos o vitandos), los principales sermones sin disfraz valen como aventuras (pues se engloban en el retrato del protagonista)” [... while the adventures of the rogue can be seen as sermons (directly or not, putting forth either positive or heinous examples), the principal sermons, unadorned, can be seen as adventures (as they are encompassed in the portrait of the protagonist)].

39 Matzat (2000, 280).

40 Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiii (2012, 86), translation Mabbe (1623, w/o pages).

41 The editors do not waste time on this phrase: see the comments in *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiii, of Rico, 1983, p. 167; Micó, 1987, vol. I, p. 185, and Gómez Canseco, 2012, p. 86.

42 Consult, e.g., Seneca, *De constantia* XIV, 3 (“Quod Cato, cum illi os percussus esset: non excanduit, non uindicauit iniuriam, ne remisit quidem, sed factam negauit; maiore animo

tation that is of interest here very probably comes from the pseudo-Senecan *Formula vitae honestae* or *De quattuor virtutibus* (ca. 570) by Martin of Braga,⁴³ a text that circulated in print in the sixteenth century. From there it would have come to the author of the *Baldo* and to Nanus Mirabellius, who cites it in his *Polyanthea*,⁴⁴ and to Juan de Aranda, who adduces “Por venganza tiene el magnánimo haber podio vengarse. (Séneca)” [Through vengeance the magnanimous one could have avenged himself. (Seneca)].⁴⁵ From the *Lugares comunes*, Mateo Alemán takes some classical quotations that he interweaves, without mentioning their author, in his discourse:

Mateo Alemán, <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i>	Juan de Aranda, <i>Lugares comunes</i>
¿Qué cosa más torpe hay que la venganza, pues es pasión de injusticia, ni más fea delante de los ojos de Dios y de los hombres, porque solo es dado a las bestias fieras? Venganza es cobardía y acto femenino, perdón es gloriosa vitoria. [...] Son las venganzas vida sin sosiego, unas llaman a otras y todas a la muerte. ⁴⁶	La venganza es una pasión de injusticia. (Stobeus) [...] La venganza llama a la venganza y la muerte a la muerte (Eurípides) Mucho mejor es el perdón que la venganza, porque el perdón cae en entendimiento benigno y la venganza en corazón de fiera. (Stobeus). Propio es de la mujer alegrarse con venganza. (Juvenal, <i>Sátira</i> 6) ⁴⁷
And what thing can bee more foule then reuenge, being that it is a passion of iniustice? And such a one, as none is more odious in the sight both of God and Man? For it is onely	Vengeance is an unjust passion. (Stobeus) [...] Vengeance brings vengeance, and death brings death (Eurípides)

non agnouit quam ignouisset”) or the same argumentation in *De ira* Liber II, xxxii, 2–3 (“2. M. Catonem ignorans in balineo quidam percussit imprudens; quis enim illi sciens faceret iniuriam? Postea satis facienti Cato, “non memini” inquit “me percussus”. Melius putauit non agnoscere quam uindicare. 3. “Nihil” inquis “illi post tantam petulantiam mali factum est?” Immo multum boni: coepit Catonem nosse. Magni animi est iniurias despicere; ultionis contumeliosissimum genus est non esse uisum dignum ex quo peteretur ultio. Multi leues iniurias altius sibi demisere dum uindicant: ille magnus et nobilis qui more magnae ferae latratus minutorum canum securus exaudit”).

⁴³ “Si magnanimis fueris, numquam iudicabis tibi contumeliam fieri. De inimico dices: “Non nocuit mihi sed animum nocendi habuit”, et cum illum in potestate tua videris, vindictam putabis vindicare potuisse: scito enim honestum et magnum vindictae esse genus agnoscere”. Martinus Bracarenensis, *Seneca de quattuor virtutibus Cardinalibus*, w/o pagination, available online: <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/202-69-quod-4/start.htm?image=00012> (7 March 2019).

⁴⁴ Nanus Mirabellius (1512, 123v s.v. magnanimitas).

⁴⁵ Aranda (1595, 99r s.v. venganza).

⁴⁶ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiiii (2012, 86–87), translation Mabbe (1623, w/o pages).

⁴⁷ Aranda (1595, 99r-v, s.v. venganza).

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Mateo Alemán, <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i>	Juan de Aranda, <i>Lugares comunes</i>
proper vnto brute beasts. Reuenge is but a kinde of cowardize, and a certain effeminate Act, and womanish kinde of weakenesse: Whereas the forgiuing of a wrong, is a glorious kinde of Victory. [...]	Far better than vengeance is forgiveness, for forgiveness falls under benign understanding and vengeance, under the heart of beasts. (Stobeus).
But reuenge is a life with out quietnesse; one calcs vpon another, and all vnto death.	Characteristic of women is to enjoy vengeance. (Juvenal, <i>Satire 6</i>)

Toward the end of his dissertation on vengeance, Guzmanillo retells a historical anecdote:

Siendo el duque de Orliens injuriado de otro, después que fue rey de Francia le dijeron que se vengase – pues podía – de la injuria recebida, y, volviéndose contra el que se lo aconsejaba, dijo: “No conviene al rey de Francia vengar las injurias del duque de Orliens”⁴⁸.

[The Duke of Orleans hauing formerly beene iniured by one, when he was afterward King of France, he was put in minde, that hee might now be reuenged of the wrong he then receiued: for now it was in his power to doe it. But he, looking sowrely on him that did so aduise him, told him; it was not fit, that the King of France, should reuenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans.]

Just like the majority of modern editors,⁴⁹ Edmond Cros offers as sources on the episode the Spanish translation of the *Cortigiano* of Baldassare Castiglione by Juan Boscán, and *L'ore di ricreazione* of Lodovico Guicciardini by Vicente de Millis Godínez⁵⁰ and he sets about explaining why Mateo Alemán could have forgone the historical details –in both Italian texts, the French King is identified with Louis XII of France, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, that is at the moment in which Castiglione writes his dialogue –. Cros argues that:

On pourrait s'étonner de constater, chez Mateo Alemán, un tel manque d'intérêt pour les faits historiques; le prince dont il s'agit n'est-il pas l'adversaire de la sainte Ligue et le vainqueur de Ravenne? N'a-t-il pas été longtemps un des principaux acteurs de ces guerres cruelles qui ont ravagé l'Italie et auxquelles l'auteur du *Guzmán* fait allusion à la fin de

⁴⁸ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiiii (2012, 88), translation Mabbe (1623, w/o pages).

⁴⁹ See the editions of the *Guzmán* of Micó (1987, I, 186, note 39) and of Gómez Canseco (2012, 88, note 80): “Fue este un dicho muy conocido al que ya acudió Baltasar de Castiglione en 1528 [...]” [This was a well-known saying that Baldassare Castiglione turned to in 1528 ...]. In the supplemental note (2012, 1208) he brings up two other texts, the *Horas de recreación* [Hours of Recreation] by Lodovico Guicciardini and our Aranda, mentioned also by Micó.

⁵⁰ Cros (1967a, 127–129).

son premier chapitre? Mais en dépouillant l'anecdote de toutes les circonstances qui lui donnaient la singularité, Alemán peut la proposer comme une leçon qui s'adresse à tout un chacun et qui n'est plus une leçon de politique mais une leçon de morale: il ne s'agit plus du successeur de Charles VIII mais d'un homme qui, du jour au lendemain, a changé d'état et n'a pas voulu abuser de son nouveau pouvoir.⁵¹

[One might be surprised stating in Mateo Alemán such a lack of interest in historical facts: The prince concerned isn't he the enemy of the Holy League and the victor of Ravenna? Wasn't he for a long time one of the main actors in these cruel wars that devastated Italy and to which the author of *Guzmán* alludes at the end of his first chapter? But by stripping the anecdote of all the circumstances that give it singularity, Alemán can propose it as a lesson addressed to everybody and a lesson that is not political but moral: It is no longer about the successor of Charles VIII but about a man who changed his status from one day to the next and does not want to abuse his new power.]

The observations of the French researcher seem very accurate to me, except that the one responsible for the change described in the exposition of the anecdote was not Mateo Alemán but rather Juan de Aranda, the one who introduced it in the section “De la venganza” [On Vengeance] in his *Lugares comunes*, as pointed out by Rico, who, after specifying the trajectory of the episode, concludes: “Con todo, la fuente indiscutible de Alemán es J. de Aranda [...]”⁵² [Nevertheless, Alemán's source is indisputably J. de Aranda ...]:

Castiglione, <i>Cortésano</i> (1534)	Guicciardini, <i>Horas de recreación</i> (1586)	Aranda, <i>Lugares comunes</i> (1595)	Alemán, <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i> (1599)
	<i>De la grandeza real es perdonar las injurias recibidas en estado humilde y baxo</i>		
Y el rey Luis que hoy en día es rey de Francia, siéndole dicho poco después que fue rey, que entonces era tiempo de castigar sus enemigos que le habían ofendido mientras	Por haber muerto el Rey Carlos octavo sin hijos, sucedió en el reino y corona de Francia Luis, Duque de Orleans. Y habiéndole algunos de sus privados maliciosamente	Un duque de Orlens fue injuriado de otro señor, vino a ser rey de Francia y, siendo aconsejado que se vengase – pues pudiendo entonces – respondió: No conviene	Siendo el duque de Orlens injuriado de otro, después que fue rey de Francia le dijeron que se vengase – pues podía – de la injuria recebida, y, volviéndose contra el

⁵¹ Cros (1967a, 129).

⁵² See the edition of the *Guzmán* by Rico (1983, 168, note 33).

⁵³ Castiglione (1873, 240).

⁵⁴ Guicciardini (1586, 277r).

⁵⁵ Aranda (1595, 99v).

⁵⁶ Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiiii (2012, 88).

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Castiglione, <i>Cortésano</i> (1534)	Guicciardini, <i>Horas de recreación</i> (1586)	Aranda, <i>Lugares comunes</i> (1595)	Alemán, <i>Guzmán de Alfarache</i> (1599)
era Duque de Orlens, respondió, que no tocaba al Rey de Francia vengar las injurias hechas al Duque de Orlens. ⁵³	traído a la memoria que ya estaba en tiempo de poderse vengar de las injurias y agravios que le habían hecho algunos siendo Duque, respondió magnánimamente diciendo que no era razón que el rey de Francias vengase los agravios y injurias que se habían hecho al Duque de Orleans. ⁵⁴	al rey de Francia vengar las injurias hechas al duque de Orlens. ⁵⁵	que se lo aconsejaba, dijo: “No conviene al rey de Francia vengar las injurias del duque de Orlens”. ⁵⁶
<i>[It is of true greatness to pardon injuries suffered in low and humble condition.]</i>			
[And King Louis, who today is the King of France, being told little after he was crowned, as it was then time to punish those enemies of his who had offended him when he was Duke of Orleans, replied that it did not fall to the King of France to avenge the wrongs done to the Duke of Orleans.]	As King Charles VIII had died without children, Louis, Duke of Orleans, succeeded to the reign and crown of France. And having by one of his favourites maliciously brought to mind, as the time had come that he could now avenge the affronts and insults that some had lobbed at him as Duke, he replied magnanimously, saying that there was no reason for the King of France to avenge the affronts and insults that had been thrown at the Duke of Orleans.]	[One Duke of Orleans was insulted by another man, then came to be the King of France and, being advised to seek vengeance – now being at liberty to do so – replied: It does not suit the King of France to avenge the insults levied at the Duke of Orleans.]	[The Duke of Orleans, having been insulted by another, after becoming King of France was told to seek vengeance – as well he could – for the insult made, and, turning toward the one who advised it, said: “It does not suit the King of France to avenge the insults made against the Duke of Orleans”.]

I think that this, as well as the other examples, confirms that the *Lugares comunes* were on Mateo Alemán's desk when he drafted the moralistic digressions of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* and gathered information on a specific topic. The question that remains unanswered concerns the usefulness of these forms of knowledge. Guzmanillo tells us regarding the sermon on vengeance that he wanted to "tener en la memoria la buena dotrina" [keep the good doctrine in mind] and make use "de ella con muchas veras"⁵⁷ [of it fairly]. Nonetheless, – and Wolfgang Matzat has clearly seen this –⁵⁸ the rogue's behaviour belies his wholesome purposes. The fact that the protagonist did not learn the lesson does not mean that the same is true for the reader. Without entering into the old discussion on "el consejo y la conseja" [the moral advice and the fictitious story] and establishing a scale for the valuation of the *prodesse et delectare* in the *Guzmán*, I would like to propose another key for reading his moralistic digressions:⁵⁹ At the end of his prologue to the reader, Juan de Aranda observes, possibly with Torquemada very clearly in mind: "Este libro es natural entretenimiento de discretos y jardín deleitoso gratísimo a todos sentidos y gustos para según ellos coger las flores más convenientes de él"⁶⁰ [This book is natural entertainment for the discrete and a delightful, garden of pleasure for every sense and taste according to which everyone may pluck the flower most suitable]. The fact that a contemporary author to Mateo Alemán rates a condensed book of moral content as 'entertaining' allows us – if we do not want to discard it as a mere strategy of self-promotion – to draw conclusions about the digressions of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* which, perhaps, would not so easily have bored the readers of its time as it would modern critics.

57 Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I, I, iiiii (2012, 86).

58 Matzat (2000, 280): "Der Erzähler gibt diese 'buena dotrina' [...] zunächst in wörtlicher Rede wieder, um sie dann im Zuge eines Dialogs mit dem Leser weiter zu bekräftigen, gesteht aber zugleich ein, daß sie nicht auf fruchtbaren Boden gefallen sei. Das deutlichste Beispiel für Guzmán's andauernden Hang zur Rachsucht bieten seine Begegnungen mit den Genueser Verwandten" [The narrator conveys this "good doctrine" initially in direct speech to reaffirm it then in a dialogue with the reader, confessing at the same time that it wasn't fruitful. The clearest example for the tendency of Guzmán to vengeance are his encounters with his family from Genova].

59 For the moralistic comments in the *Guzmán*, see Maurer-Rothenberger (1967), Lupini (1979) and Gilbert (2002).

60 Aranda (1595, w/o pagination).

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